

A HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE

BY

WM. STEWART WALLACE, M.A. (Oxon.)

Librarian of the University of Toronto

*I vow to thee, my country—all earthly things above—
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love,
The love that asks no question: the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar the dearest and the best.*

—SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE

*British Ambassador at Washington
during the Great War*

Authorized by the Minister of Education

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PREFACE

THERE are two ways of writing history, the chronological and the topical. The chronological—which was once the almost invariable method employed in text-books—has the merit of bringing together everything relating to a given epoch, and the drawback of resulting frequently in a disjointed narrative of unrelated events, not unlike that desultory document, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The topical method, on the other hand, has the advantage of preserving a narrative interest; but it has the disadvantage of entailing a good deal of repetition, and of forcing the reader to turn back repeatedly the hand of time. It has been the aim of the author of this book to combine these two methods in such a way as to avoid as far as possible the disadvantages of both. Canadian history falls into three well-defined periods, the pre-British, the British North American, and the Canadian, and these periods are here treated consecutively. But within each period the topical method has been employed, and separate sections have been devoted to such matters as geographical exploration, social and economic life, political development, and external affairs. In this way, it is hoped that the narrative will have something of that "story" interest which is the life-blood of history, and at the same time will provide a comprehensive picture of each of the three outstanding epochs in the history of the Canadian people.

It is hoped, also, that a special feature of the present volume will be found to be its illustrations. With the exception of the maps, which have been drawn by that

distinguished draughtsman, Mr. C. W. Jefferys, the illustrations have been drawn almost exclusively from contemporary sources. For most of them I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. A. G. Doughty, the Dominion Archivist, who has gathered together in the Public Archives at Ottawa a wealth of material relating to the history of Canada for which the country owes him an undischageable debt. For the use of one illustration, General Townshend's portrait of Wolfe, I am indebted to the courtesy of the McCord National Museum of McGill University. The remainder of the illustrations have been drawn from the resources of the University of Toronto Library and the Ontario Legislative Library.

W.S.W.

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The King's Birthday, 1930

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PRIME MINISTERS OF CANADA

	DATE OF APPOINTMENT
RT. HON. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD	July 1, 1867
HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE	Nov. 7, 1873
RT. HON. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD	Oct. 17, 1878
HON. SIR JOHN J. C. ABBOTT	June 16, 1891
RT. HON. SIR JOHN S. D. THOMPSON	Dec. 5, 1892
HON. SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL	Dec. 21, 1894
HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER	Jan. 15, 1896
RT. HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER	July 11, 1896
RT. HON. SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN	Oct. 10, 1911
RT. HON. ARTHUR MEIGHEN	July 10, 1920
RT. HON. WM. LYON MACKENZIE KING	Dec. 29, 1921
RT. HON. ARTHUR MEIGHEN	June 29, 1926
RT. HON. WM. LYON MACKENZIE KING	Sept. 25, 1926
RT. HON. RICHARD BEDFORD BENNETT	Aug. 7, 1930
RT. HON. WM. LYON MACKENZIE KING	Oct. 23, 1935

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF ONTARIO

MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. STICED	July 1, 1867
HON. SIR W. P. HOWLAND	July 14, 1868
HON. JOHN CRAWFORD	Nov. 5, 1873
HON. D. A. MACDONALD	May 18, 1875
HON. JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON	June 30, 1880
HON. SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL	Feb. 8, 1887
HON. SIR GEORGE A. KIRKPATRICK	May 30, 1892
HON. SIR OLIVER MOWAT	Nov. 18, 1897
HON. SIR WILLIAM MORTIMER CLARK	April 20, 1903
HON. SIR JOHN M. GIBSON	Sept. 22, 1908
HON. SIR JOHN HENDRIE	Sept. 24, 1914
HON. LIONEL HERBERT CLARKE	Nov. 27, 1919
COLONEL, THE HON. HENRY COCKSHUTT	Sept. 10, 1921
HON. WILLIAM DONALD ROSS	Jan. 12, 1927
COLONEL, THE HON. HERBERT ALEXANDER BRUCE	Oct. 25, 1932
HON. ALBERT MATTHEWS	Nov. 30, 1937

PREMIERS OF ONTARIO

	DATE OF APPOINTMENT
HON. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD	July 16, 1867
HON. EDWARD BLAKE	Dec. 20, 1871
HON. SIR OLIVER MOWAT	Oct. 31, 1872
HON. ARTHUR STURGIS HARDY	July 14, 1896
HON. SIR GEORGE WILLIAM ROSS	Oct. 21, 1899
HON. SIR JAMES PLINY WHITNEY	Feb. 7, 1905
HON. SIR WILLIAM HOWARD HEARST	Oct. 2, 1914
HON. ERNEST CHARLES DRURY	Nov. 14, 1919
HON. G. HOWARD FERGUSON	July 16, 1923
HON. GEORGE STEWART HENRY	Dec. 15, 1930
HON. MITCHELL FREDERICK HEPBURN	July 10, 1934

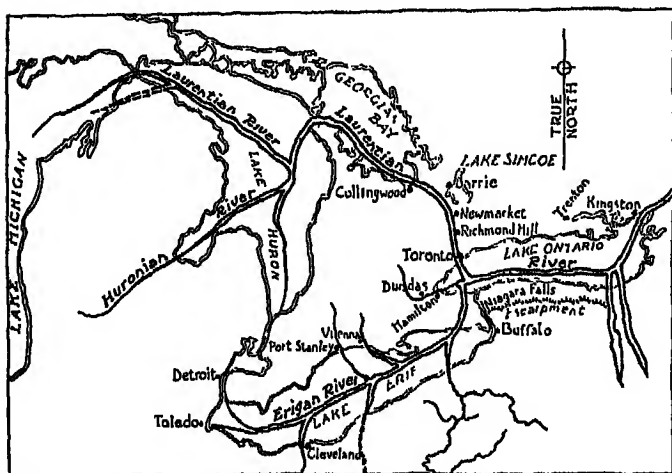
A HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE

INTRODUCTION PREHISTORIC CANADA

THE written records of Canadian history carry us back *Records* only a few hundred years, to the time when European sailors first landed on Canadian soil. But other records, embodied for the most part in that soil itself, carry us back untold millions of years, to the time when there was little or no life of any sort on the earth.

Historically, Canada is one of the newest of countries; *Geological history* geologically, it is perhaps the oldest. That portion of the land surface which we call Canada has been, on the whole, above sea-level longer than any other part of the habitable earth; and in many parts of the country are to be seen rocky formations that are the earliest and oldest of which we have knowledge. During the billion or more years which, it is estimated, have elapsed since these rocks were formed, vast changes have taken place. The face of the earth has repeatedly altered. It has been raised, and been depressed. The ancient shore-line of Nova Scotia is now a hundred and twenty-five miles out at sea, under many fathoms of water; and the coal-mines of Cape Breton are a fossilized forest, submerged beneath the sea at another epoch. There was a time when the prairies of the Canadian West were below sea-level and a time when the Rocky Mountains did not exist. Alaska was once joined to Asia by a land bridge, and Newfoundland was part of the mainland of North America. What

is now Ontario was at one time nearly two thousand feet higher above sea-level than it is to-day, and there were no Great Lakes: the land was drained by great rivers that dashed headlong to the sea. We know that one of these



THE PREHISTORIC LAURENTIAN RIVER

rivers—called by scientists the Laurentian—ran down from what is now the Georgian Bay to what is now Lake Ontario, in the general direction of Yonge Street. Proof of its existence has been found through the digging of wells. During some of these distant ages Canada was inhabited by animals now extinct, such as the dinosaur and the mastodon; and the climate was at times tropical. The coalfields of Alberta are formed from giant ferns such as could only have existed in a warm country.

*The Ice
Age*

Then came the Ice Age—or rather the Ice Ages. A vast glacier-like sheet of ice, sometimes a mile in thickness, moved south until it covered virtually the northern half of the North American continent. Canada then

presented a spectacle similar to that of the Arctic regions. All life disappeared. There were periods, probably four in number, when the ice retreated and the weather moderated; but it was not until about 35,000 years ago that the ice retreated for the last time, and Canada began to assume the aspect which it bears to-day.

At first the ice, as it melted, left a long and narrow lake of water along its southern border. Then separate lakes were formed, very different from the lakes of to-day. At this time practically the whole of southern Manitoba was the bed of a body of water which has been called by scientists Lake Agassiz. Another lake, known as Lake Algonquin, occupied roughly the area covered to-day by Lakes Superior, Michigan, and Huron. The beaches of this lake are still discernible in many parts of Ontario. It had, at different times, various outlets. At one time its waters flowed towards the Mississippi valley; at another they emptied into the St. Lawrence valley by way of what is now the Trent River system. When these channels were choked, an outlet was found by way of the St. Clair River and Lake Erie into Lake Iroquois, the predecessor of Lake Ontario; and as the ice retreated north, another exit was found by way of Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa valley. We can tell roughly when these last changes took place. Niagara Falls cannot have come into existence until the St. Clair River outlet was opened; and geologists have estimated that it must have taken Niagara Falls 25,000 years to cut its way back from the escarpment at Queenston Heights to its present position.

*Post-glacial
times*

At a later period, between 15,000 and 10,000 years ago, the sea invaded the St. Lawrence and Ottawa valleys, flooded eastern Ontario, and filled what is now the basin of Lake Ontario. The extent of this invasion we can determine by the marine shells left on the shores of

*The marine
invasion*

this gulf of the Atlantic. It was only when the salt water receded again to Quebec, about 8,000 years ago, that Lake Ontario came into existence.

*The
geography
of Canada*

Our knowledge of the geological history of Canada is fragmentary and uncertain. Except within the last few thousand years, we cannot be sure of the length of time involved; nor can we trace with accuracy the succession of events. But we have ample proof of the vast changes that have taken place, and of the fact that the geography of Canada, as we know it to-day, is of comparatively recent date.

*Early man
in America*

When was Canada first inhabited by man? There are scholars who have attempted to prove that man in America antedated the Ice Age; and there is no doubt that the American mastodons of pre-glacial times must have migrated from Asia by way of the land bridge between Siberia and Alaska. If mastodons, why not man? On the other hand, no sure proof of the existence of man in America prior to the Ice Age has been adduced; and it is certain that man could not have existed in Canada, at any rate during the Ice Age. Until proof to the contrary is forthcoming, it must therefore be assumed that the history of man in Canada does not begin until post-glacial times.

*Origin of
the Indians*

The inhabitants of Canada, when the first Europeans found their way to its shores, were what we now call Indians.¹ The origin of the Indians has been the subject of many speculations. Cotton Mather, a famous Puritan divine of early New England, believed that they had been inveigled to America by the devil, to get them "beyond the tinkle of the gospel bells". Others thought that they were the descendants of the ten lost tribes of

¹ This name was a misnomer, due to the fact that the early explorers thought the West Indies were the East Indies.

Israel; and as recently as one hundred years ago books were written to demonstrate the truth of this theory. Later, it was thought that the Indians were not the original inhabitants of America, but were preceded by a race known as "the Mound Builders"—so called from the burial mounds which were found in many parts of the United States. We know now, however, that these burial mounds were built by the Indians themselves, and not by any prior race. The fact that no direct connection has been traced, however, between the languages of the American Indian and the languages spoken in other parts of the world, has suggested to some scholars that the Indians are indigenous to America. But the consensus of opinion among anthropologists to-day is that the Indian migrated originally from Asia. His racial characteristics are those of the Mongoloid stock; many of his cultural characteristics are similar to those of the Mongoloid peoples; and it has recently been pointed out that there are similarities between some of the Indian languages and primitive Chinese, not in words, but in the system whereby the same words in different "tones" have widely different meanings.

Just when, where, and how the American Indians migrated from Asia is a matter of conjecture. They may have crossed from Siberia to Alaska when there was still a land bridge between these territories; or they may have crossed even when the land connection was broken, for even to-day it would not be impossible for primitive craft to make the passage across Bering Strait by way of the Aleutian Islands. But it is by no means impossible, and is indeed likely, that connection between Asia and America was at one time established farther south. There are geologists who believe that South America may once have been connected by land with Polynesia.

*How the
Indians
reached
America*

But, even if we reject this theory, it is quite possible that the natives of Polynesia may have reached America by way of the South Sea Islands. Easter Island, the South Sea island nearest to America, is undoubtedly a remnant of what was once a large and populous archipelago inhabited by a people who left behind them the great monolithic statues still to be seen there. We know that, over two thousand years ago, some adventurous Malay groups migrated to remote Madagascar, off the African coast, and introduced the Malay language, race, and culture into negro Africa. How they got there is more of a mystery than how some kindred groups may earlier have reached America.

*The
Eskimos*

It used to be thought that the Eskimos, who inhabit the northern fringe of the American continent, and were found in historical times as far south as the Gulf of St. Lawrence, were a race totally distinct from the Indians. But more recent investigations have made it clear that they, too, are of Mongoloid origin, and entered America by way of Bering Strait. Their language has affinities with Turkish, Hungarian, and Finnish, rather than with the languages of other American tribes—a fact which suggests that they are perhaps a later migration. But they are in origin not essentially different from the other inhabitants of Canada in prehistoric times.

*Civilisation
of the
Indians*

During the many thousand years which elapsed between the coming of the Indians to America and the coming of the Europeans, the Indians developed in some parts of the New World a considerable civilization. The Incas, the Mayas, and the Aztecs of South and Central America constructed magnificent stone buildings, the ruins of many of which are still in existence; they understood the working of the softer metals; they made elaborate and artistic pottery; and they knew something of

astronomy and surgery. But there were many things of which they, like the other natives of America, remained ignorant. They had no knowledge of the wheel and its uses; they never learnt how to make tools and weapons of iron and steel; and they never acquired, except in a very primitive way, the art of writing. Since they left behind them no written records, our knowledge of them is derived almost solely from the researches of archæologists, and is, under these circumstances, scanty.



BLACKFOOT CHIEFS

The Indians of Canada, however, were much more backward than those of Central and South America; and it is probable that they had not changed greatly for many centuries before the coming of the white man. They were still, in the sixteenth century of our era, savages

*The
Indians
of Canada*

of a primitive type. Their clothing was the skin of animals, chiefly deerskin and fur, sometimes adorned with the feathers of birds. They had no metal tools or weapons, but made use of stone hatchets and flint arrow-heads. They understood basket-work, but their pottery was made crudely of thick clay. They lived on the fish and game and the fruits and nuts which the country afforded. Few of them cultivated the soil, and these grew only Indian corn or maize, the seeds of which they planted in natural clearings in the forest. The felling of a tree was with them a long and arduous task. Their dwellings were tipis, or tents, made of bark or skin, or long lodges of wood and bark. Their chief invention was the birch-bark canoe, sewn together with plant fibres or the tendons of animals; and in these light craft they travelled over the waterways of the country far and wide. They invented also the webbed snowshoe, which, like the birch-bark canoe, is peculiar to Canada, and which enabled them to travel over deep snow in winter. They were in the tribal stage of society, though some of them, such as the Iroquois, had developed a confederation of tribes; and they were still to some extent nomadic. Their numbers were comparatively few. It is estimated that, in North America about the year 1500, there were only between one and two million Indians; and it is probable that in the whole of what is now the Dominion of Canada there were not more than a quarter of a million, or less than half the present population of the city of Toronto or of Montreal.

*Linguistic
stocks*

Among the Indians of what is now Canada there were a great many tribes, but these were grouped in several distinct stocks, or families of tribes, distinguished by their linguistic peculiarities. In Newfoundland were the Beothuks, a very primitive race, the last survivor of

which disappeared over a century ago. On the mainland, the greater part of Canada was occupied by the Algonquin family. This included the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, the Montagnais and Abenakis of Quebec, the Nipissings and Ojibways of Ontario, the Crees, the Bloods, the Piegans, and the Blackfeet of the western prairies. South of these was found the Iroquoian family, including the Hurons of the St. Lawrence valley and the Iroquois of New York state. In the far north-west was the Athapascan family, the chief tribe of which was the Chipewyans. These occupied the country between Hudson Bay and the Rocky Mountains. Across the Rocky Mountains were a number of different groups of tribes, such as the Salish, the Kutenai, and the Haïda. These various linguistic families were so distinct that none of them could understand readily the speech of the others—a fact which illustrates the lack of communication between them and the rapidity with which unwritten languages change.



INDIAN MEDICINE MAN

*Origins of
Canadian
history*

A vast literature has grown up about the Indians, and much might be written about their history before the discovery of America. But the truth is that this history has little practical importance. The conquest of America by Europeans drew a red line across American history; and the civilization of America to-day owes very little to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. It has its roots, not in America, but in Europe.

For a fuller account of the matters dealt with in this Introduction, see Stephen Leacock, *The Dawn of Canadian History* (Toronto, 1914), Chaps. 1-3. The chief authority on the Indians is the *Handbook of Indians of Canada* (Ottawa, 1912). In regard to the historical geography of Canada, consult Lawrence J. Burpee, *An Historical Atlas of Canada* (Toronto, 1927).

BOOK ONE: NEW FRANCE

PART I: EXPLORATION

Lord of the far horizons,
Give us the eyes to see
Over the verge of sundown
The beauty that is to be.

—BLISS CARMAN, *Far Horizons*

§ 1. THE DISCOVERERS

WHEN first the shores of Canada were visited by *The* Europeans, we do not know with certainty. *Ancients*

European sailing-ships may have blundered on America before the birth of Christ. Traders from Tyre and Sidon and Carthage were in the habit, several hundred years before Christ, of passing beyond the Strait of Gibraltar; and it is not outside the bounds of possibility that they may have been driven across the Atlantic. The Atlantic Ocean derives its name from a mysterious island named Atlantis, which the Greek philosopher Plato says the ancients once discovered beyond the Pillars of Hercules; and there are those who believe that this island was none other than America, or at any rate one of the islands lying between it and Europe. But this is merely a speculation; and, while it is not impossible that the ancients may have reached America, we do not know whether they did so or not.

The first European visitors to Canada of whom we *The* have any actual record were the Northmen. These tall, *Norsemen* fair-haired sons of Scandinavia were among the most wonderful of the races of mediæval Europe. From the

fiords of Norway they swept down on the coasts of southern Europe, and for centuries terrorized the peoples of Scotland, Ireland, England, and France. It was they who ravaged England in the time of Alfred the Great, and later conquered it under Canute. They colonized Normandy, which they wrested from the king of France; and their descendants set up a Norman kingdom in the south of Italy. In the ninth century they settled in Iceland; and from Iceland they found their way in the tenth century to Greenland. Here they established a colony, the ruins of which still stand on that bleak and barren coast; and from Greenland they penetrated, about the year 1000—the *annus mirabilis* of mediæval history—to the north-west coast of North America.

*The story
of the
Sagas*

Our knowledge of the Norse discovery of America is derived from two Icelandic sagas, or prose narratives, known as the *Saga of Eric the Red* and the *Vinland History of the Flat Island Book*. The stories told in these sagas, which were written down long after the events which they purport to describe, differ widely in many details; but the main outlines of their story are clear. About the year 986 an Icelandic pirate named Bjarni Herjulfson—one of those Norse freebooters, no doubt, who were at this time plaguing the coasts of England and France—came home to pay a visit to his father. He found, to his surprise, that his father had left Iceland, and had gone with an outlaw named Eric the Red to found a colony in Greenland. Toward Greenland, therefore, Bjarni Herjulfson turned his prow. Neither he nor any of his men had ever made the voyage to Greenland; but the sea had no terrors for them. With their "sea-dragons"—long, open, deckless boats, propelled only by a single bank of oars and a square of canvas, but built on beautiful lines—the Northmen

were as much at home on the sea as on land. Bjarni Herjulfson, however, met with bad luck. In the foggy waters of the North Atlantic he lost his way; and when he reached land, it proved to be "level and covered with woods", very different from the high and ice-bound



A VIKING SHIP

crags of Greenland. He realized that he was out of his course, he turned north, and eventually he reached Greenland and his father's new home at Herjulfssness.

*Leif the
Lucky*

Here he told about the shore on which he had blundered farther south; and several years later—in the year 1000—the son of Eric the Red, who was called Leif the Lucky, decided to sail south to find “the country that Bjarni had seen”. He found first a coast to which he gave the name Helluland (or land of flat stones); then he landed at a place which he named Markland (or wood-land); and finally he wintered in a country which he called Vinland (or wine-land), from some “wine-berries” which his men found growing there. What impressed him chiefly about Vinland, however, was the excellence of its timber. Timber was a commodity of which the settlers in Greenland stood in great need, for there were in Greenland, despite its name, few trees; and when Leif the Lucky returned in the spring, he took a cargo of timber with him.

*Later
voyages*

In the years that followed, repeated voyages were made from Greenland to Vinland, and attempts were made at colonization. In 1002 Thorvald, the brother of Leif, borrowed Leif's boat, and succeeded in finding Leif's log-huts in Vinland. Here his men spent two winters. But his expedition came into conflict with the natives of Vinland, who now for the first time appear on the scene under the name of “Skrælings”; and in the summer of 1003, Thorvald was killed by a Skræling arrow. In 1007 a more serious attempt at colonization was made by a brother-in-law of Leif the Lucky, named Thorfinn Karlsefni, who brought to Vinland a number of colonists and some cattle; but his colony suffered from repeated attacks by the “Skrælings” and had in 1010 to be abandoned. Two years later a third attempt at colonization was made by Freydis, a half-sister of Leif the Lucky; but her party came to blows with a party of

Greenlanders who had come to Vinland to cut timber, and the colony died out in an orgy of murder.

Such is the tale the sagas tell. Over it the tide of controversy has now ebbed and flowed for many years. *The historicity of the Sagas* There are scholars who have attempted to identify the very site of Leif the Lucky's huts in Vinland, and to determine whether the "Skrælings" were Eskimos or Indians. There are others who have argued that the story told by the sagas is almost wholly mythical or legendary. But of the bare fact that, about the year 1000, the Norse settlers in Greenland found their way to the shores of north-eastern America there can be no reasonable doubt. Repeated references to Vinland and Markland occur in Icelandic parchments, and there is even a description of Vinland in the writings of Adam of Bremen, a German monk who lived in the latter half of the eleventh century. Nor is actual archæological evidence of the Norse visits to America lacking, for in 1824 there was found on the island of Kingitorsook in Baffin Bay—in a region supposed to have been unvisited by Europeans before the modern age of Arctic exploration—a stone bearing a Runic inscription which is translated thus:

*Erking Sighvatson and Bjarni Thordhanson and
Eindrid Oddson raised these marks and cleared
ground on Saturday before Ascension week, 1135.*

It is probable that the Northmen in Greenland visited America oftener, and over a longer period, than even the sagas lead us to believe. But the fact remains that their visits had no lasting results. In the fourteenth century even the Norse colony in Greenland lost touch with the Old World, and died out. It has hitherto been supposed that the colony was wiped out by the savage Eskimos; but recent investigation of the sites of the colony make it likely that slow starvation was the real cause of its *The Norse discovery without results*

extinction. In any case, the frail link binding the Old World to the New was broken; and the memory of the Norse discovery of America was buried in the unknown literature of the Scandinavian peoples. When, in the fifteenth century, the sailors of southern Europe rediscovered America, they knew nothing of the bold seafarers who had preceded them.

From the time of the geographer Ptolemy, who lived in the second century after Christ, scholars in the south of Europe had known that the earth was round; and it was only a matter of time till some one should try to reach the Far East by travelling westward. During the middle ages European seamanship was hardly equal to such an enterprise; nor had it a sufficient incentive. But at the close of the middle ages, two events took place which paved the way for the voyages of discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The first of these was the discovery and spread of the use of the mariner's compass, which revolutionized the art of navigation, and made long ocean voyages possible. The second was the conquest of the Near East by the Turks, culminating in the capture of Constantinople in 1453, and the consequent closing of the land routes to the markets of the Far East. This provided the incentive for the voyages of discovery which had hitherto been lacking. The Far East had always been to Europe a place of fabulous wealth, whence it drew its precious stones, its silks, and the spices which it used for preserving food. To find a new route to the East became now the aim of many daring men. In Portugal Prince Henry the Navigator devoted his life to this task; and before his death in 1460, Portuguese ships had pushed south along the coast of Africa half way to the Cape of Good Hope. Many maps of the fifteenth century show land

*The voyages
of discovery*

far out in the Atlantic, notably an island named Antillia; and a globe of 1492 contains the statement that "in 1414 a ship from Spain got nighest it without being endangered". In 1472 the king of Denmark sent out an expedition which, it has been recently argued, reached Labrador. In 1492 Christopher Columbus set sail from Palos in Spain on the epoch-making voyage which brought him to the West Indies. Evidently the sailors of western Europe were reaching out toward the west all during the fifteenth century.

*John
Cabot*

The first voyage to Canada during this century, however, of which we have indisputable record, was that of John Cabot in 1497. John Cabot—whose real name was Giovanni Gabotto—was a native of Genoa who had, in the service of a Venetian trading-house, visited the East as a buyer of silks and spices. Even earlier than Columbus, he seems to have conceived the idea of reaching the Far East by sailing westward across the Atlantic. He went to England, the westernmost of the countries of Europe; and here he enlisted the support of King Henry VII and the merchants of the sea-port town of Bristol. He made his first attempt to reach Asia from this port. He knew nothing, of course, of the continent of America which barred his path; but he did not even reach America. The winds and fogs of the North Atlantic held him back; and he was compelled to return to Bristol without having sighted land. In 1493, however, the news that Christopher Columbus, sailing from Spain, had reached the Indies, gave Cabot and the Bristol merchants new hope. In 1497 Cabot set forth once more in a tiny ship named the *Matthew*, with a crew of eighteen men; and this time he succeeded in reaching the shores of Canada. Just where he made his landfall is a matter of controversy. Probably he landed on Cape

Breton Island. But in any case he reached the mainland of America a year before Columbus reached in 1498 the mainland farther south.



A SHIP OF THE TIME OF CABOT

On his return to Bristol, John Cabot became the lion of the hour. "These English", wrote a Venetian in London, "run after him like mad people." The thrifty Henry VII rewarded him with a gift of money; and a fleet of six vessels was promised him in which he should follow up his discovery the following spring. He styled

*Cabot's
second
voyage*

himself "the great Admiral"; and dressed in silk. "Nor does my Lord the Admiral", wrote another of his compatriots in England, "esteem himself less than a prince." To his barber he promised an island, and to several poor Italian monks bishoprics.

Eventually, John Cabot set sail in the spring of 1498 with only two ships. He crossed the Atlantic a second time, and coasted down the shores of North America from Labrador to Chesapeake Bay. He came into touch with the Indians, and traded with them. But, to his dismay, he found they had no silks and spices to offer him. They had only fish and a few furs. As the season advanced, he was compelled to turn his prow toward England, with almost empty holds; and in the late autumn he reached Bristol, a bitterly disappointed man. His second home-coming must have been very different from his first. The merchants who had invested their money in his enterprise withdrew their support in disgust; and John Cabot sank into obscurity and disrepute. A year or so later he seems to have died, forgotten and broken-hearted.

*The
fisheries*

But the verdict of to-day is not always the verdict of to-morrow. In the perspective of history, John Cabot appears as the fearless and far-sighted navigator who, for practical purposes, first discovered the shores of Canada. He failed to reach the "country of the Great Khan"; but he led the way to a country no less fabulous in wealth. In the fisheries which he discovered on the Banks of Newfoundland he found a source of wealth greater than the silks and spices of Cathay. On his return from his first voyage, he told how "that sea is covered with fishes, which are caught not only with the net, but with baskets, a stone being tied to them in order that the baskets may sink into the water"; and his son,

Sebastian Cabot, vowed that the fish were "so numerous they sometimes stayed his ships". At that time fish played a much more important part in the economic life of Europe than to-day: the number of fast days in the year and their religious observance all over Europe made fish one of the great staples of existence. Almost immediately enterprising fishermen from the west of England and from Brittany set out for the "new found land"; and from 1504 onwards probably not a year went by when the fishing fleet did not visit the Banks. The very name of Capo Breton is a relic of these early fishing voyages. Later, Basque whalers from the Bay of Biscay followed the fishing fleet. As a result of Cabot's discoveries, therefore, an abiding link was forged between the Old World and the New—a link which remained when all other communication ceased.

Other explorers, moreover, were not long in following in the wake of Cabot. In the year 1500 Gaspar Corte-Real, a Portuguese gentleman from the Azores, set sail from Lisbon for the "new found land", and reached Greenland. The following year he repeated the expedition with three ships, and explored the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland. Accustomed to the ideas of the African slave-traders who had their headquarters in Lisbon, he seized about sixty of the Indians, and stowed them away below hatches. On his return voyage, however, his ship was lost; and in the following year his brother Miguel, who went in search of him, also disappeared. Twenty years later, in 1524, an Italian sailor named Giovanni Verrazano, sailing north along the coast of North America, reached Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and claimed these territories in the name of his master, the king of France; and in 1527 John Rut, an officer of the royal navy of Henry VIII of England,

*The search
for the
western
passage*

reached, but did not pass, the Strait of Belle Isle. By this time it had become abundantly clear that America was not Asia, but a vast continent which intervened between Europe and Asia. In 1513 the Spaniard Balboa had crossed the Isthmus of Panama, where, "silent upon a peak in Darien", he had gazed on the waters of the Pacific; and in 1519 the Portuguese Magellan had sailed around Cape Horn. Henceforth it became the aim of explorers to find a way through the barrier of the American continent by which they might reach the fabulous East. The "search for the western passage" had begun.

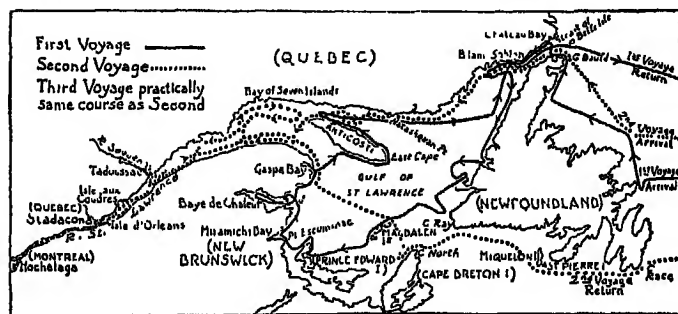
*Jacques
Cartier*

Up to this point, not even the chief features of the Atlantic seaboard of Canada had been laid bare. It was not known that the Strait of Belle Isle cut Newfoundland off from the mainland; nor had any one discovered the entrance to that great waterway of the St. Lawrence River and Gulf which leads into the heart of Canada. In 1534, however, there sailed from the sea-port of St. Malo in Brittany a sea-captain who was destined to discover and explore these important features of the geography of Canada. This was Jacques Cartier, a typical Breton "sea-dog", who had already visited the New World, and had, perhaps, sailed the Spanish Main. Cartier offered his services to Francis I of France, who had recently added Brittany to his kingdom; and the offer was readily accepted. Francis was that gay, dissolute, and brilliant monarch who, at the battle of Pavia in 1525, had lost all "save life and honour". Worst of all by the Spaniards in the Old World, he was only too glad to try conclusions with them in the New. Ever since, by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, Spain and Portugal had, with the approval of the Pope, divided the New World between them, they had regarded all other nations

as interlopers; but this did not daunt Francis. "I would fain see", he remarked bitterly, "the article in Adam's will which bequeathed the earth to Spain and Portugal." He now sent Cartier westward to explore that "new found land" which French and Breton fishermen had already been frequenting for a quarter of a century, and to plant the French *fleur-de-lis* in what was destined to become New France.

Cartier made three, and possibly four, voyages of discovery. On his first voyage, he sailed with two ships straight to Newfoundland, coasted along its north shore,

His first voyage



CARTIER'S EXPLORATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER

and turned south through the Strait of Belle Isle—thus demonstrating the fact that Newfoundland was an island. The forbidding coast of Labrador he described as "the land God gave to Cain". Thence he sailed south to Prince Edward Island, west to the coast of New Brunswick, and north to the Bay of Chaleur. He hoped that this bay might prove to be the western passage of which he was in search; but in this, of course, he was disappointed. A cape at the entrance to the bay he named Cap d'Espoir (Cape of Hope); and it was a stroke of irony that this name was afterwards corrupted into

Cape Despair. He then sailed along the coast of the Gaspé peninsula, turned north past the Island of Anticosti—missing the entrance to the St. Lawrence—and finally sailed back through the Strait of Belle Isle, and so returned to France. He had made a circuit of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; he had come into touch with the Indians in Gaspé Basin, had kidnapped two of them as interpreters, and had planted on the shores of Gaspé Basin a huge wooden cross, bearing an escutcheon with three *fleur-de-lis* and the inscription, "Vive le Roy de France". This voyage may, therefore, be said to mark the beginning of French rule in Canada.

*His second
voyage*

The following year (1535) Cartier returned to follow up his discoveries. This time he was better equipped. He had three ships and crews numbering a hundred and twenty men, and he came prepared to winter in the New World. He passed again through the Strait of Belle Isle, and, acting doubtless on the advice of the Indians he had taken with him, sailed west along southern Labrador. He passed to the north of Anticosti, and thus made his way into the St. Lawrence River, of which, so far as we know, he was the discoverer. He pushed up the river to the present site of Quebec, where he found a palisaded Huron village named Stadacona. Here he left his two larger ships, with part of his crews, and pursued his voyage to the Island of Montreal. On the site of the present city of Montreal he found a second village called Hochelaga. Beyond this, however, he did not go. He learned from the Indians that his way up both the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa Rivers was barred by rapids; and, after a glimpse of the surrounding country from the nearby mountain—to which he gave the name of Mount Royal—he turned back. He was a sailor, not

a landsman; and he had the sailor's dread of leaving his ships.

As the season was now well advanced, Cartier and his men spent the ensuing winter near Stadacona—probably the first inhabitants of southern Europe to winter in Canada. They little knew the fate in store for them. Either that winter was unusually severe, or these Breton sailors were ill fitted to cope with it. The temperature sank below zero; the snow fell unceasingly; and the little party of white men was attacked by the scurvy, a disease caused by lack of fresh food. Many died, and the survivors were more dead than alive. "Sometimes", wrote Cartier afterwards, "we were constrained to bury some of the dead under the snow because we were not able to dig graves for them, the ground being so hard frozen and we so weak." Only the chance discovery of an Indian remedy made from the bark of the white spruce, saved the party from extinction. In six days the sick used up "a tree as big as any oak in France".

*Winter in
Canada*

To cap the climax, the attitude of the Indians became so threatening that Cartier had to conceal the weakness of his men by ordering those who were whole and sound to "make a great noise with knocking sticks, stones, hammers, and other things together". Great was his relief when at last the spring came, and he was able to make his way back to St. Malo with what remained of his crews. But before going he took the precaution of again erecting a cross, in token of his occupation of the country; and on this he hung a shield bearing the arms of France and the legend, written in antique letters: FRANCISCUS PRIMUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX REGNAT. To the valley of the St. Lawrence he gave the name of New France.

*Cartier's
last
voyage*

Five years later, in 1541, Cartier again visited the New World; but on this voyage he added nothing to his previous discoveries. He ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the Island of Montreal, and he spent another wretched winter near Quebec. On this occasion he was under orders from a court favourite, the *Sieur de Roberval*, who had been appointed viceroy and lieutenant-general of Canada; and it was intended that Roberval should follow Cartier, and establish a trading-post on the banks of the St. Lawrence. But Roberval was slow in making his appearance, and Cartier met him only in a harbour in Newfoundland on his return voyage. Roberval ordered Cartier to return with him to the St. Lawrence; but the Breton sailor evidently thought he had waited long enough, and, under cover of the following night, he raised anchor and slipped away. Roberval continued on his way, and wintered near Tadoussac. But, like Cartier, he had a harrowing experience; and in the spring he, too, returned to France. Probably Cartier never saw Canada again. He was given by the French king, as a reward for his services, a small manor near St. Malo, and there, it seems, he spent the rest of his life.

*His
achievement*

Cartier did not discover the western passage to Asia in search of which he had set out. He was greatly disappointed when he found the St. Lawrence narrowing to an inland river; and at Montreal he was twice turned back by the Lachine Rapids. He was not the stuff of which the greatest explorers are made. But he deserves the credit of discovering the great waterway by which his successors pushed into the heart of North America, and finally found their way overland to the Pacific. He did more than any one else, moreover, to reveal the outlines of the geography of the Atlantic coast of Canada;

and many of the names on our maps to-day we owe to him. It was he who first applied to the country he visited the name of Canada—through a misunderstanding perhaps of the Huron word “Kanata”, meaning a collection of huts. He gave the name St. Lawrence to a bay of the Gulf which he entered on St. Lawrence’s Day; and from this bay the name spread later to the Gulf and the River. To the mountain which dominated Hochelaga he gave the appellation of Mount Royal; and from this has come the name of the city of Montreal. These names are memorials of his great achievement.

It was not only, however, by way of the St. Lawrence valley that the search for the Western Sea was to be prosecuted. A rival route, and one hardly less important, was that by way of Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay. Here, from first to last, the English led the way. It is possible that John Cabot found the entrance to Hudson Strait in 1498. Certainly from early times there were rumours of a sea-passage lying to the north of Labrador: the entrance to such a strait is clearly marked on a Portuguese map of 1570. In 1576 an English navigator, Martin Frobisher, who later commanded a squadron of ships against the Spanish Armada, landed on the shores of that bay which still bears his name, and took possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth of England. Two years later he actually entered Hudson Strait, but he allowed himself to be turned aside, and so failed to reach Hudson Bay. A quarter of a century later, in 1602, another English sailor, George Weymouth, penetrated Hudson Strait to a depth of a hundred leagues. These early expeditions prepared the way for Henry Hudson, the dauntless mariner who first penetrated Hudson Strait to Hudson Bay, and explored the coasts of that great inland sea.

*The Hudson
Bay route*

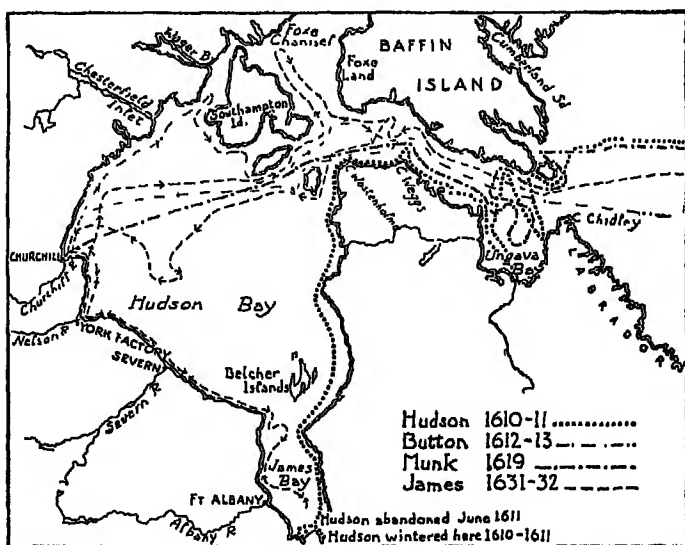
Henry
Hudson

Henry Hudson was one of those English sea-captains who, in the "spacious days of great Elizabeth", had carried the flag of England into all the seven seas. About his early days we know almost nothing. It is not until 1607 that he comes into our ken. In that year he appears as the captain of an expedition sent out by the Muscovy Company, an association of English merchants formed for trading with Russia, in an endeavour to find a passage to Asia by the north of Europe. Two years later, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, he crossed the Atlantic, entered what is now New York harbour, and discovered and explored the Hudson River in an attempt to find a westward route to Asia. On his return from this voyage, he saw in Amsterdam the log-books of George Weymouth; and he forthwith determined to explore the strait that Weymouth had entered, in the hope that it might lead to the Western Sea. He obtained the support of some English merchants; and in 1610 he set sail for Hudson Strait in the *Discovery*, a small vessel of only fifty-five tons, with a crew of twenty-three men. He found the entrance to the Strait; and, after running the gauntlet of the ice-floes, which repeatedly threatened to crush his tiny ship, he reached the open waters of Hudson Bay. Jubilant, he sailed ahead, thinking that he had at last reached the Western Sea that washed the shores of Asia. But disillusionment awaited him. He explored the eastern shores of the Bay, but found no outlet; and gradually the suspicion must have dawned on him that Hudson Bay was not the Western Ocean of which he was in search.

Hudson's
fate

He wintered on the shores of James Bay, the southern arm of Hudson Bay; and the following spring he set sail for home, his supply of food running dangerously low. Home, however, he was not destined to see again.

His crew, with famine staring them in the face, mutinied. Hudson and his young son, with those among the crew who were ill and useless, were cast into an open boat and turned adrift in those wintry waters. The last glimpse we have of Henry Hudson is of an unbroken and undaunted old man, standing in the stern of his shallop, and shaking his fist at the mutineers as they sailed away in the white-winged *Discovery*. Somewhere in that cruel northern sea he met his fate like an English sailor. As for the *Discovery*, it succeeded in making its way through Hudson Strait, and so across the Atlantic; but of the mutineers on board only four survived when the tiny vessel, now almost a derelict, reached the coast of Ireland. From these four survivors the world learned of the discovery of Hudson Bay.



EXPLORATION OF HUDSON BAY

Later
voyages to
Hudson
Bay

In the years that followed repeated expeditions were made to Hudson Bay. The very next year the merchants who had outfitted Henry Hudson sent out an expedition, under Sir Thomas Button, to search for him; and Button wintered at what is now Port Nelson. The following year Bylot, Hudson's second mate, came out with William Baffin—after whom Baffin's Land is named—to search for Hudson. In 1619 a Danish expedition, under Jens Munk, visited Hudson Bay; and, after an appalling winter at the mouth of the Churchill River, Munk, with only two other survivors of the party, managed to make his way back to Norway. But none of these explorers found any trace of Hudson, nor did they succeed in finding the passage to the Western Sea. They mapped out, however, the shores of Hudson Bay, and made known that central feature of the geography of Canada; and they made ready the way for the occupation of Hudson Bay by those English traders who half a century later were to found the Hudson's Bay Company.

The discovery of Canada is fully treated in S. H. Dawson, *The St. Lawrence Basin* (London, 1905). The latest discussion of the Norse voyages to America is found in G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, *The Norse Discoverers of America* (Oxford, 1921). The life of Jacques Cartier is told in Stephen Leacock, *The Mariner of St. Malo* (Toronto, 1914), and that of Champlain in R. Menley, *Samuel de Champlain* (Toronto, 1924). The latest and best account of Henry Hudson is L. Powys, *Henry Hudson* (London, 1927).

§ 2. THE PATHFINDERS

A period of
inaction

OVER half a century elapsed after Jacques Cartier planted the arms of France in the St. Lawrence valley, before his compatriots followed up his discoveries. During the latter half of the sixteenth century, France was torn by the wars of religion. Roman Catholic and Huguenot were locked in bitter strife; and, under these

circumstances, it was not surprising that Frenchmen had no energy to devote to the exploration of the New World. The eyes of France were turned, not outward, but inward. In 1598, however, Henry of Navarre brought the long struggle to a close, with a compromise which enabled both Roman Catholics and Protestants to live, for the moment, at peace with each other; and immediately Frenchmen began to turn their attention once more to the New World. With the dawn of the seventeenth century, consequently, there began in Canada a period of inland discovery which revealed the chief features of the geography of New France, and ended only, toward the close of the French régime in Canada, with the exploration of the great prairies of the West and the approach to the Rocky Mountains.

The first of the great pathfinders of New France was a Breton gentleman named Samuel de Champlain. Champlain was a man of exceptional and varied qualities. He was in turn soldier, sailor, geographer, explorer, author, and administrator; and, while he did not achieve perhaps greatness in any of these capacities, he never failed to acquit himself with credit. As a young man he fought in the wars of religion as a soldier in the army of the Catholic League. When the wars were over, he took to the sea—to which, indeed, he had been bred—and we know that he visited Central America. It was an evidence of the quality of his mind that, on this voyage, he suggested the building of the Panama Canal—a project which has been carried out only in our own time. He attracted the attention of Henry IV, and was made a “geographer royal” (or geographer to the king). In 1603 the king permitted him to join a colonizing expedition sent out to what is now Nova Scotia, and during the next year or two he surveyed the coasts of Nova Scotia

*Samuel de
Champlain*

and northern Maine, making sketch-maps of his surveys so accurate that his course can be followed minutely to-day. In 1608 he transferred his energies to the St. Lawrence valley; and here he spent most of the rest of his life. He founded a trading-post at Quebec, and he became the first governor of New France. He and his men pushed farther into the heart of Canada than any white man before him; and he described his explorations in a series of books which rank among the classics of wilderness travel. He combined in a rare degree the qualities of a man of action with those of a scholar and a scientist.

His first explorations

His first exploration into the interior of Canada was made in 1609 up the valley of the Richelieu River. On



EXPLORATIONS OF CHAMPLAIN

this expedition he discovered that lake which still bears his name. But his chief efforts in exploration were directed, not toward the south, but toward the west. Like all the early explorers, he had the idea of trying to

find the route to the Western Sea. With this object in view, he sent in 1611 two young men up the Ottawa River to find out from the Algonquin Indians whether the Western Sea could be reached by that route. One of these was a young man named Etienne Brûlé, who later became a famous traveller in the wilderness. The other was a youth named Nicolas de Vignau, who spent a winter with the Indians and returned in the following spring with an amazing tale. He had, he said, gone with the Indians up the Ottawa until he reached a great "sea of the North". Here—so ran his story—he had actually seen the wreck of an English ship, and had talked with an English lad who had survived the shipwreck. Even to-day one is at a loss to know what to think of Vignau's story. In 1610, as we have seen, Henry Hudson had wintered on James Bay, and the following spring he and his son, with some of his men, had been cast away in those northern waters. Vignau certainly never came within hundreds of miles of James Bay; and yet it seems difficult to believe that his tale was a pure coincidence.

In any case, Champlain was greatly impressed; and in the spring of 1613 he decided to visit the "sea of the North", and see it for himself. He set out up the Ottawa with two canoes. He took with him also his surveying instruments; and, in crossing one of the numerous portages on the Ottawa, he lost his astrolabe, the instrument which he used for determining longitude and latitude. It is interesting to know that over two hundred and fifty years later, in 1867, this astrolabe was turned up by a farmer who was ploughing some new land near the town of Renfrew. The loss, however, was not important, for Champlain did not go very much farther. At Morrison Island, in the upper Ottawa, he fell in with the Indians among whom Vignau had wintered.

*His
journey up
the Ottawa*

From them he learned that Vignau had not stirred beyond the Indian encampment. Champlain was filled with anger on learning that he had been duped; but there was nothing for him to do but to retrace his steps. Vignau he cast off. "We left him", he says grimly, "in God's keeping."

*His journey
to the Huron
country*

Two years later, however, in 1615, Champlain resumed his efforts to push westward. This time he made no effort to find "the sea of the North", but merely followed the Huron Indians to their camping grounds south of the Georgian Bay. Champlain sent on with the Hurons an advance party of thirteen Frenchmen, including a Recollet priest; and he followed shortly afterwards with the young man Etienne Brûlé, who had now spent several years among the Indians, and knew the country through which Champlain was about to pass. The two parties ascended the Ottawa, crossed over to Lake Nipissing, descended the French River, and paddled south through the thirty thousand islands of the Georgian Bay to the Huron villages situated near the site of the modern town of Midland. Here the Recollet priest, Father Le Caron, began among the Indians the work of evangelization which the Jesuit missionaries in Huronia were later to complete. Champlain, however, found that a war-party of the Hurons was setting out to attack, south of Lake Ontario, one of a group of Indian tribes known as the Iroquois, with which Champlain had already come into conflict on Lake Champlain. Though of the same linguistic stock, the Hurons and the Iroquois were bitter enemies, and waged ruthless warfare against each other. Champlain now decided to accompany the war-party; and with his dusky allies he travelled in a south-eastward direction, by way of Lake Simcoe and the Trent valley, to Lake Ontario. With the possible exception of Etienne

Brûlé, Champlain was the first white man to gaze on the waters of this great lake. The party crossed in canoes the eastern end of the lake, and plunged into the forest of northern New York. In the neighbourhood of Lake Oneida, they came on one of the fortified towns of the Iroquois, and attempted to storm it. But, despite the firearms of Champlain and his men, the attack proved a failure, and the Hurons retreated in panic. Champlain was wounded, and had to be carried back to Lake Ontario on the shoulders of a Huron brave. Here he expressed a desire to return to Quebec by way of the St. Lawrence; but the Hurons would not give him a canoe, and he was compelled to return with them to the shores of the Georgian Bay. Thence, in the following spring, he returned to Quebec by the way he had come.

This journey brought Champlain's exploring days to a close. He was now nearing fifty years of age, and doubtless found the hardships of wilderness travel too much for him. Other duties, moreover, claimed him—notably that of building up the infant colony at Quebec. But his fame as an explorer was already secure. He had laid bare the geography of a large part of the present provinces of Quebec and Ontario; and, if he did not succeed in his search for the Western Sea, he took a long step forward in the search. By opening up the Huron country to the missionaries and fur traders, he established a base from which those who came after him carried on his work. Among these, he deserves special credit for the explorations of Etienne Brûlé. It was he who sent this unlettered but intrepid bushranger into the Huron country in 1611; and it was he who directed and encouraged his later journeys. In 1615 Champlain sent him south to the country of the Eries, possibly by way of the present site of Toronto and the great Falls of



CHAMPLAIN MONUMENT AT ORILLIA, ONTARIO

Niagara, on a journey which ended only at Chesapeake Bay on the Atlantic. Later, in 1622, Brûlé passed through the narrows at Sault Ste. Marie, and, first of white men, visited Lake Superior. Had he not been murdered by the Hurons in 1633, while still a young man, it is possible that he might have carried his discoveries even further.

Another of Champlain's young men was Jean Nicolet. Like Brûlé, Nicolet had been sent by Champlain to spend several winters among the Indians, and he was thoroughly at home among them; but, unlike Brûlé, he was a man of some education. He became in 1633 clerk of the Company of New France at Quebec. The following year Champlain decided to make a renewed attempt to find the way to the Western Sea; and he chose Nicolet to undertake the expedition. Nicolet proceeded to the Huron country; and there, with seven Hurons, he embarked in a large birch-bark canoe on his adventurous voyage. He made his way along the north shore of the Georgian Bay, past Sault Ste. Marie, into the Strait of Michilimackinac; and there, first of Europeans, he paddled into the waters of Lake Michigan. He skirted the western shore of this lake until he reached Green Bay. He turned here into Fox River, and followed it through Lake Winnebago to its source in the divide between the basins of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. He does not appear to have crossed the divide, though it is only a mile and a half wide and though he heard from the Indians that he was only three days journey from "the great water"—by which they meant, no doubt, the Mississippi River, but he understood them to mean the Western Ocean. He was prepared for all eventualities, for he took with him in his scanty baggage a ceremonial dress of Chinese damask embroidered with many-coloured birds and flowers. Why he turned back, on the

*Jean
Nicolet*

threshold of apparent success, we do not know. Perhaps, with his large canoe, he hesitated to put the divide between him and Huronia. In any case he had achieved a notable voyage. He had completed the picture of the Great Lakes, and he had led the way for those explorers who were later to reach the valley of the Mississippi, and to follow it to its mouth on the Gulf of Mexico.

*Exploration
slackens*

On Christmas Day, 1635, Champlain died; and in the years that followed exploration slackened. During these years the Iroquois menace grew more and more serious both in New France and in Huronia, so that communication between New France and the western country became increasingly difficult and dangerous; and in 1649 the Jesuit missions in Huronia were, as we shall see, wiped out of existence. Nearly a quarter of a century elapsed after Champlain's death before the march of exploration was resumed; and then the next advance was made, not by any explorer acting under official instructions, but by two private fur traders acting without even official approval.

*Groseeilliers
and
Radisson*

These were Médard Chouart des Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson. Both men were natives of France, but had come to Canada in youth, and had engaged in the fur trade at Three Rivers on the St. Lawrence. Here Groseilliers married, after the death of his first wife, the widowed sister of Radisson; and henceforth the two formed a sort of partnership. About 1660—the exact dates are uncertain—they made two expeditions to the west of Lake Superior which had results of almost incalculable importance. Our knowledge of their explorations is derived almost wholly from the narratives written by Radisson, in curious and grotesque English, several years later—documents which came to light only a little over half a century ago in the British Museum and the

Bodleian Library at Oxford. Radisson was not, like Champlain, a scientific explorer; and the disregard of dates and distances in his narrative, combined with his almost unintelligible English, make it difficult to determine just where he and Groseilliers actually went. What is certain is that they reached the prairies where the buffalo roamed. It is probable, also, that they discovered the headwaters of the Mississippi River; and it is possible that they reached Hudson Bay overland. "We came", says Radisson, "to the seaside, where we found an old house all demolished and battered with bullets . . . They [the Indians] told us about Europeans . . . We went from isle to isle all that summer." Unfortunately, there is reason to believe that in this passage Radisson was romancing, and that its only basis lay in stories which he had heard from the Indians.

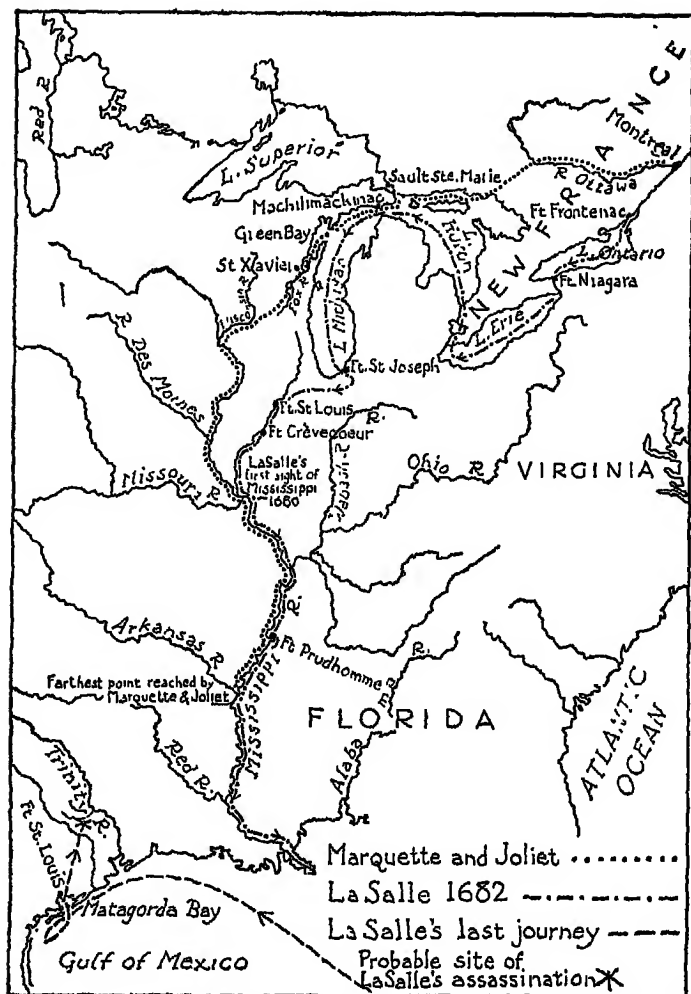
But whether Radisson and Groseilliers actually reached Hudson Bay, or whether they merely heard about it from the Indians, is of little practical importance; for the knowledge which they gained about it bore important fruit. When they returned to Quebec from their second expedition, they brought with them such a wealth of furs that the cupidity of the governor was aroused; and he took from them a large part of their profits in the form of a fine, imposed because they had been trading without a license. In order to obtain redress, they went to Paris; but they did not succeed in having the fine remitted, and finally, in disgust, they went over to the English, who were becoming interested in the possibilities of the fur trade in Hudson Bay. They obtained an audience with the "Merry Monarch" of England, Charles II; and they enlisted the support of Charles's cousin, the dashing and gallant Prince Rupert. Prince Rupert and several of his friends financed a fur-

*Results of
their
discoveries*

trading expedition to Hudson Bay, in which Radisson and Groseilliers took part; and the result of this expedition was the formation, in 1670, of the Hudson's Bay Company—or, to give it its fuller name, "the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay". Groseilliers eventually returned to New France, and there he died; but Radisson, with the exception of a brief period when he re-entered the service of France, remained in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, and ended his days in London. In London he seems to have made the acquaintance of the great English diarist of the seventeenth century, Samuel Pepys; and it was among the manuscripts that Pepys had collected that his journals were ultimately found.

*Joliet,
Marquette,
and
La Salle*

Radisson and Groseilliers were primarily fur traders, and their actual contributions to geographical knowledge were vague. But by leading the way to the western prairies, and by demonstrating the vast possibilities of the fur trade in the Great West and about Hudson Bay, they became the forerunners of a host of explorers and fur traders who followed after them. In the direction of the Mississippi their work was followed up by Louis Joliet and Father Jacques Marquette, and later by René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle. In 1673 Joliet, a native-born Canadian, with the Jesuit Marquette, crossed the watershed that divides the waters of the St. Lawrence from those of the Mississippi, and paddled, beyond any question, down the upper reaches of the "Father of Waters". In 1682, La Salle, after many trials, explored the Mississippi from its junction with the Illinois River to its mouth. Two years later he attempted to found a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi; but in his ships he missed the entrance to the river, and his colony was marooned on the inhospitable



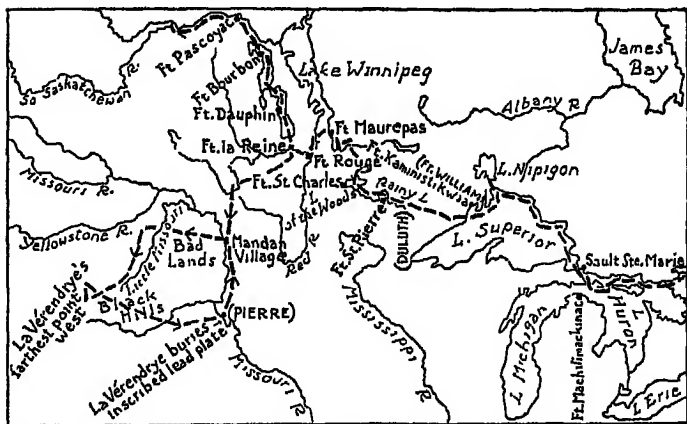
ROUTES OF MARQUETTE, JOLIET, AND LA SALLE

shores of what is now the state of Texas. Not far from here he met his death, in 1687, at the hand of mutineers. But he led the way to the founding of the French colony of Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi and the row of forts along the Mississippi and Illinois rivers which linked Louisiana with New France. The story of these fearless pathfinders is among the most thrilling in the annals of New France; but the Mississippi valley has long ceased to be a part of Canada, and a detailed account of its explorations would be out of place in these pages. It is sufficient to point out that, before the English colonists on the Atlantic seaboard had even crossed the Alleghany Mountains, the French of New France had explored the waterways of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and had reached the prairies of the Great West.

*La
Vérendrye
in the West*

It was, however, fully three quarters of a century before any other Frenchmen visited the prairies which Radisson and Groscilliers had discovered. There then took place the last contribution which New France was destined to make to the exploration of the North American continent—the journeys of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, and his heroic sons. La Vérendrye was a native-born Canadian, who had entered the French army, and had been wounded at the famous battle of Malplaquet. He had then returned to Canada, and embarked in the fur trade, in which he spent the rest of his life. In 1728 he found himself at the lonely trading-post of Nipigon on Lake Superior. Here he heard from the Indians some account of the western prairies and of “a great river flowing west”. An old Indian named Ochagach drew for him on birch-bark a map which showed rivers flowing into a western sea. He became seized with the desire, which had consumed

so many others, to find the way to this elusive sea; and he obtained from the governor of New France permission to set out on this quest. He did not, as Radisson

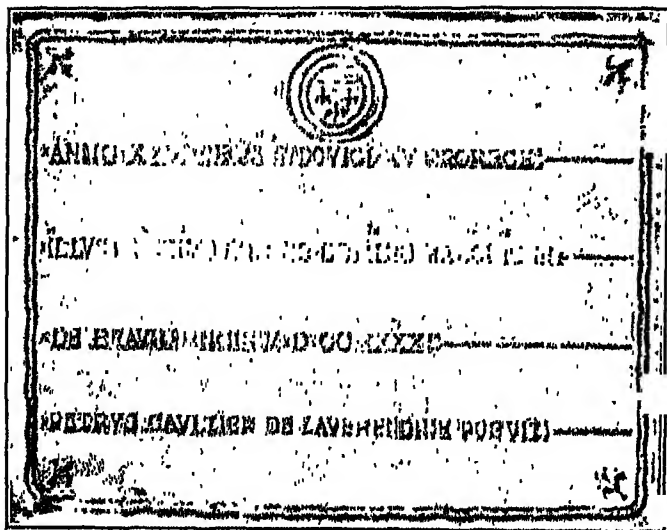


EXPLORATIONS OF LA VÉRENDRYE AND HIS SONS

and Groseilliers had done, make a flying trip into the wilderness. He conceived the plan, rather, of building a chain of trading-posts stretching to the westward, each of which was to serve in turn as a base of future operations. He built one first at Rainy Lake, and then one at the Lake of the Woods. His eldest son, with some of his men, was massacred by the Sioux Indians at the Lake of the Woods; but he pressed on. At the forks of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers he built a rude fort, the first building to arise in the neighbourhood of the present city of Winnipeg. Farther west he established a post near the site of what is now Portage la Prairie; and from this post he hoped to be able to reach the Western Sea.

His hopes were vain. He pushed south-westward to the villages of the Mandan Indians on the Upper Missouri, and north-westward to the banks of the Saskatchewan. *His failure*

But nowhere did he hear of salt water to the west. He had hoped that the fur trade would pay for his explorations; but in this he was disappointed. His creditors became so pressing that in 1743 he was compelled to return to Montreal to face them. Not long afterward he was removed from the command of the western posts. It was later found necessary to reappoint him to command in the west; but by this time his health had been broken down by his trials and disappointments, and in 1749 he died in Montreal.



THE LEADEN PLATE BURIED BY THE CHEVALIER DE LA VÉRENDRYE IN 1741, AND DISCOVERED NEAR PIERRE, SOUTH DAKOTA, IN 1913

*The
achievement
of his sons*

Before leaving the west, however, he had entrusted the completion of his life work to his sons; and in 1742 two of these, François and Louis de la Vérendrye, set out on

a journey which carried the flag of France far over the western prairies. The two brothers, with a small party, struck south to the Mandan villages on the Upper Missouri; and thence they pushed westward, passing from tribe to tribe of strange Indians, until, on New Year's day, 1743, they came in sight of the "Shining Mountains". Whether these were the foothills of the Rockies or only the Black Hills of Dakota, scholars are not agreed. In any case the party was here compelled by hostile Indians to turn back. But the sons of La Vérendrye deserve the credit at least of leading the way to the Rocky Mountains, and thus of bringing nearer the day of the first overland journey to the Pacific. Of the prairie country, moreover, they took possession in the name of the king of France; and it is interesting to know that in 1913, some school children playing on the outskirts of the city of Pierre, North Dakota, unearthed a leaden plate bearing the arms of the king of France and an inscription scratched on it with a dagger, which François de la Vérendrye had buried there one hundred and seventy years before, in token of his occupation of the country in the name of his royal master.

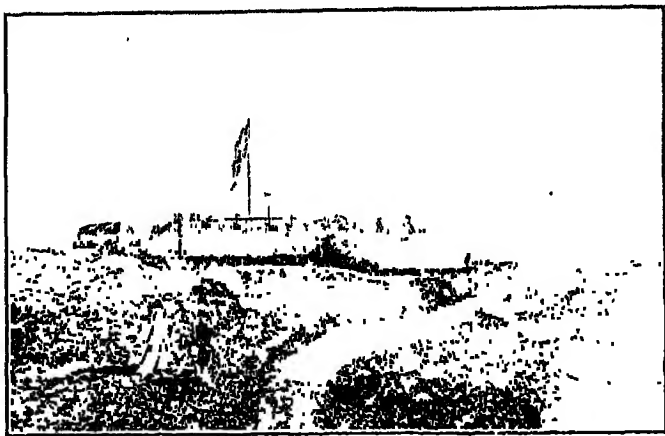
With the names of La Vérendrye and his sons, the bed-roll of the explorers of New France comes to an end. After the death of La Vérendrye, the western posts were placed in the hands of a succession of favourites of the governor of New France; and though one of these, the Chevalier de Lacorne, distinguished himself by growing wheat in the Carrot River valley in the Saskatchewan country, none of them added anything to the discoveries of the La Vérendryes. The very claims of La Vérendrye's sons to recognition were forgotten. "We spent our youth and our fortune", wrote one of them, "in building up establishments advantageous to Canada, and after all we

*The last
days of
French rule
in the West*

were doomed to see a stranger gather the fruit we had taken such pains to plant." Such has too often been the fate of pioneers.

*The English
traders on
Hudson
Bay*

While the French of the St. Lawrence valley were pushing out to the west, the English traders on Hudson Bay were not wholly inactive. It used to be thought that, from the beginning, the Hudson's Bay Company adopted the policy of building forts only on the shores of the Bay, and of inducing the Indians to come down from the



FORT PRINCE OF WALES ON HUDSON BAY

Drawn by Samuel Hearne in 1777

interior to trade—that it did, in fact, discourage its servants from exploring the interior. Evidence, however, has recently come to light that this was not wholly the case. After its founding in 1670, the Company devoted its efforts for a number of years to the establishment of trading-posts at the mouths of rivers flowing into Hudson Bay. The first of these was "Charles Fort", built at the

mouth of Rupert River. Then there followed in rapid succession forts built at the mouths of the Albany, Nelson, Hayes, and New Severn Rivers. These were at first, no doubt, most primitive posts; and it was only gradually that the Company extended and strengthened its first hold on the shores of Hudson Bay. Not until 1733 was the construction begun of Fort Prince of Wales at the mouth of the Churchill River—that massive structure the stone walls of which are still standing. This fort is one of the oldest and most historic of Canadian ruins. But once the Company had consolidated its position on the Bay, it began to think of getting in touch with the Indians of the interior; and, with this object in view, it sent out several explorers about whom little has been known until recently.

The first of these was a young man named Henry ^{Henry} Kelsey. ^{Kelsey,} Kelsey was an English lad who had been apprenticed to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1683. He showed an aptitude for dealing with the Indians, and in 1689 he was sent northward from Churchill River to bring in the northern Indians to trade. The following year he was sent into the interior with a party of Indians; and his own account of his trip came to light in the archives of Northern Ireland only in 1926. From this it appears that he went with the Indians up the Hayes River route to the Saskatchewan valley, and actually reached, in 1691, the open prairies, where he saw the buffalo and the grizzly bear. He spent a winter among the Indians of what is now southern Alberta; and in 1692 he returned to Hudson Bay with "a good fleet of Indians" and a great quantity of furs for trade. He remained for many years after this in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company; and his descendants are still to be found on the shores of Hudson Bay. He never

again, so far as we know, visited the western plains—probably because his journey of 1690-92 had been so successful in attaining its object of bringing the Indians of the interior down to the shores of Hudson Bay to trade. In the years that followed, other journeys of exploration were undertaken by the Hudson's Bay Company, mostly to the northward; but none of these compare in importance with Kelsey's great achievement.

*Anthony
Hendry*

It was only after La Vérendrye and his successors had penetrated to the western prairies, and had begun to cut off at its source the Hudson's Bay Company's supply of furs from the interior, that a servant of the Company was again sent into the interior. This was Anthony Hendry, a trader who, before entering the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, had been a smuggler in the Isle of Wight. Hendry was commissioned to try to re-establish trading relations with the Indians, and, like Kelsey, he reached the southern part of the modern province of Alberta. At The Pas, on the Saskatchewan, he encountered a trading post which had been established by the French, probably by the Chevalier de Lacorne. This first meeting of the French and the English in the west was an important event. Hendry, who must have picked up in his smuggling days some knowledge of French, exchanged civilities with the officer in charge of the French post; but beneath the outward courtesy, there was on both sides an undercurrent of rivalry and hostility. The explorers from Hudson Bay had met the explorers from the St. Lawrence valley; and the meeting presaged a struggle between them which was destined to last for over half a century, and which ended only in 1821 with the union of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian traders of the North-West Company of Montreal.

A fuller account of the subject of the preceding section will be found in L. J. Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea* (London, 1908), and in N. M. Crouse, *In Quest of the Western Ocean* (New York, 1928). See also A. Laut, *The Pathfinders of the West* (New York, 1904), and L. J. Burpee, *The Pathfinders of the Great Plains* (Toronto, 1914).

PART II: THE PEOPLE OF NEW FRANCE

The physiognomy of a government can be best judged in its colonies. When I want to study the spirit and faults of the government of Louis XIV, I must go to Canada; its deformities are there seen as through a microscope.

—A. DE TOCQUEVILLE

§ 1. THE EARLY SETTLERS

IT WAS very slowly that the French took root in Canada. Champlain and his assistants had already explored a good part of eastern Canada even before the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock; but the Plymouth colony was a vigorous and growing settlement before Champlain's post at Quebec—or indeed the whole of New France and Acadia—could boast of more than two or three families of genuine colonists. From first to last New France lagged behind in population; and when it passed at last under British rule in 1763, it contained within its wide-flung borders scarcely more than sixty-five thousand people, while the population of the English colonies to the south was well over a million.

*The French
in America*

There had been, even before Champlain founded the post of Quebec in 1608, many attempts at colonization in Canada. The first of these was that of the Sieur de Roberval in 1542. Just before Jacques Cartier set out on his third voyage to Canada in 1541, Roberval was appointed viceroy of New France; and he followed

*Roberval's
colony*

Cartier with "three tall ships" and a company of two hundred men and women, with a view to founding a colony overseas. He built "a fair fort" at Cape Rouge, near Stadacona (Quebec), on the St. Lawrence, and there he spent the winter of 1542-3. Like Cartier's sailors, most of Roberval's colonists were Bretons and utterly unfitted to cope with the problems of a Canadian winter. Scurvy attacked them, and fifty of the party died. Mutiny broke out, and Roberval had to keep order by means of the lash and the gibbet. Some of his colonists he "placed in irons and kept prisoners". By these means, we are told, "they lived in quiet". But when the summer of 1543 came, Roberval was glad to make his way back to France with what remained of his abortive colony.

*La Roche's
colony*

After this disastrous experiment, over half a century elapsed before another attempt was made by the French at colonization in the New World. In 1598, however, the very year in which the long struggle between the Catholics and Protestants in France came to an end, a commission as lieutenant-general of New France was granted by Henry IV to the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany who had been for many years interested in the New World. La Roche conceived the idea of founding a colony on the shores of Acadia, or what is now Nova Scotia. He had difficulty in obtaining colonists, for emigration to the New World was not as popular then as now; but he persuaded the king to grant him a jail delivery. Of the colonists thus obtained, many bought their freedom; but with about sixty "wretches from the prisons", who were not able to buy exemption, La Roche set sail for the New World in 1598, in a vessel so small that the passengers could touch the water by leaning over the side. The fate of the colony contained comedy, mixed with tragedy. La Roche

reached without mishap the desolate sandbar of Sable Island off the south-east coast of Nova Scotia; and there he disembarked his luckless settlers, while he himself went ahead to discover a suitable site for his colony. On his way he encountered a violent tempest, and was blown back—so we are told—all the way to France. Marooned on Sable Island, his colonists were compelled to subsist as best they might; and when, some five years later, a ship was sent to their relief, it was found that only eleven of the party had survived.

The French government, however, was now seized with the desire of establishing colonies in the New World; and in 1599 Henry IV granted to Pierre Chauvin, a fur trader, a monopoly of the fur trade in New France, on condition that he took out fifty colonists a year. The fishermen who had, during the sixteenth century, been frequenting the New World, had come into touch with the Indians, and had discovered the possibilities of the fur trade. It now seemed likely that the fur trade and colonization might go hand in hand. Chauvin took with him to Canada in 1600 a few colonists; and sixteen of these spent the winter of 1600-1 at Tadoussac. They were apparently, however, the scum of the French seaports, and they were only saved from extinction by the Indians, who took them into their wigwams. In the spring the survivors of the party were glad to return to France; and Chauvin made no further attempt at colonization in Canada.

Chauvin's colony

Among those who had accompanied him to the St. Lawrence in 1600, however, was a Huguenot gentleman named the Sieur de Monts. Monts was an old companion-at-arms of Henry IV; and in 1604 a fresh commission was issued to him, granting him a monopoly of the fur trade in Canada on condition that he took out

The first settlement of Acadia

a hundred colonists a year. Early in March, 1604, Monts set out from Havre, in France, with two large ships and a company of over one hundred and twenty settlers, including both gentlemen and artisans. He steered his course to the south of the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which he seems to have thought was too far north for settlement; and he eventually chose as the site of his colony the island of St. Croix, near the entrance to the Bay of Fundy. The choice of this site was not happy, since the island was not fertile, and there was a lack of fresh water on it. During the ensuing winter, moreover, the cold was intense, and the dreaded scurvy carried off thirty-five of the colonists. Religious disputes added to the troubles of the colony, for it contained both Catholics and Huguenots, and these found it difficult to get on together. "I have seen our curé and the minister", wrote Samuel de Champlain, who accompanied the expedition as geographer royal, "fall to with their fists on questions of faith."

Port Royal

In 1605 the settlers were wisely transferred to Port Royal, in what is now called the Annapolis valley, on the south shore of the Bay of Fundy; and here the colony for a time took root. The country was so fair that the name Arcadia was applied to it, and this seems to have been corrupted into "Acadia". In what is now known as "the garden of Nova Scotia", the French found the winter much less severe; and they began, with success, the cultivation of the soil. A vivid picture of the life they lived has been left us by Marc Lescarbot, a brilliant young Parisian lawyer who came out to Port Royal, and who did much to relieve life in the settlement from the tedium of pioneer conditions. Lescarbot staged at Port Royal, in November, 1606, when some members of the party returned from a trip of exploration, the first

dramatic performance on the American continent; and during the winter he formed, among the gentry of the party, an "Order of Good Cheer" which provided fortnightly banquets. But in 1608 the monopoly granted to Monts was revoked; and though the colony continued in existence for several years under the care of the Sieur de Poutrincourt, a friend of Monts, it was virtually wiped out in 1613 by an English expedition from Virginia under an adventurer named Samuel Argall. Only a handful of Frenchmen were left in the forests of Acadia engaged in the fur trade; and these were the nucleus from which sprang the Acadian people.

Meanwhile, however, efforts at colonization had been begun in a different quarter. Before he lost his monopoly of the Canadian fur trade, the Sieur de Monts sent out Samuel de Champlain in 1608 to found a trading post on the St. Lawrence. Champlain chose as the site of his trading post that spot where, nearly three-quarters of a century before, Cartier had found the Indian village of Stadacona. Stadacona had vanished, and the Huron Indians whom Cartier had met had disappeared from the neighbourhood. In their place Champlain found Algonquins; and these called the place "Quebec"—which seems to have meant "the place where the river narrows". Among the nut trees which covered "the point of Quebec" Champlain's axemen fell to work; and here they built a fort or *habitation*, composed of three log buildings with a gallery about them, and some gardens. From this humble beginning has arisen the city of Quebec, for many years the capital of Canada, and to-day one of the most ancient and picturesque of North American cities.

Quebec was at first merely a trading post. Champlain was at heart a colonizer, as well as an explorer and fur

*The
founding of
Quebec*

*The first
settlers*

trader; but Quebec was in existence for nine years before he succeeded in obtaining his first genuine colonist. This was Louis Hébert, a Parisian apothecary who had been with Champlain at Port Royal. Hébert's knowledge of herbs—with which at that time medical science chiefly concerned itself—led him to take an interest in gardening and agriculture; and at Port Royal he had had good success in growing wheat. When Champlain persuaded him to settle with his family at Quebec in 1617, he cleared a small bush farm on what is now part of the upper town of Quebec; and here he and his family spent the rest of their days. His daughter was the first bride of New France; and to-day his blood runs in the veins of not a few of the people of the province of Quebec. But others were slow in following Louis Hébert's example. When, in 1629, some English vessels under Sir David Kirke sailed up the St. Lawrence and captured Quebec, there were only about five families of settlers in the colony, and these had cleared barely twenty acres of land.

*Cham-
plain's
last days*

For three years the English flag flew over Quebec; but in 1632 the colony (such as it was) was handed back to France, and in 1633 Champlain returned to build up what had been destroyed. "Of that poor settlement", wrote a Jesuit father who accompanied him, "nothing is now to be seen but the ruins of its bare walls." With him Champlain brought more than a hundred colonists; and the settlement was rebuilt on a more ambitious scale than before. Had Champlain lived, much progress in colonization might have been made; but on Christmas Day, 1635, the "father of New France" breathed his last.

*The
Company of
New France*

During the years that followed, immigrants continued to come to New France, but only in small numbers. In 1627 the monopoly of the fur trade in the colony, which

had hitherto been fought over by the merchants of the seaport towns of France, had been granted to the Company of New France (otherwise known as the Hundred Associates), which had its headquarters in Paris, and was presided over by the great Cardinal Richelieu himself. This Company undertook to bring out four thousand colonists in fifteen years; and in 1628 it made a brave beginning by sending out four ships with about two hundred settlers. But these vessels were captured by the English ships under Sir David Kirke, who, in the following year, seized Quebec. The loss of these ships and of Quebec was a blow from which the Company of New France never recovered. It continued to enjoy a monopoly of the fur trade for thirty years after Champlain returned to Quebec in 1633; but it made little attempt to carry out its promises of colonization. The truth is that colonization and the fur trade have always been incompatible; and the fur trader has from the beginning discouraged colonization, even when pretending to assist it.

During this period there came to Canada an average of only ten actual settlers a year—not a heavy immigration. When the Company resigned its charter in 1663, there were not more than twenty-five hundred people in the colony, and nearly eight hundred of these were at Quebec. It is worthy of note, however, that these settlers were, on the whole, of a better type than those of the earlier period. The colonists of Roberval, La Roche, and even Champlain had been largely from Brittany; and Brittany was a poor and barren country inhabited by a race which, while it produced fine sailors, was in other respects backward and ignorant. In Canada these Bretons proved unable to adapt themselves to the new conditions; and those of them who survived the winters

returned as a rule to Brittany. The settlers who came to Canada under the Hundred Associates on the other hand, were chiefly from Normandy. They were of the stock which, six centuries before, had conquered England. In education they seem to have been distinctly above the average; and they proved adaptable and resourceful. Under the new conditions they made themselves comfortable and even prosperous, where their predecessors had perished miserably by the score.

*The
founding
of Montreal*

Such were the original settlers of the lower St. Lawrence valley. Of a somewhat different type were the little band who founded Montreal under the Sieur de Maisonneuve in 1642. These were religious enthusiasts, bent, not on settlement, but on establishing a mission station and hospital for the Indians. They were not agriculturists; and they brought no women with them, except nuns. They were, moreover, not from Normandy, but from Anjou. But in due course many of them married the daughters of the Norman settlers, and thus became absorbed in the original population. To this day the speech of the French in Canada has strong Norman characteristics.

*The work of
the early
settlers*

The work of these early settlers has too long been obscured by the more spectacular achievements of the fur traders and the priests. The fur traders, as we have seen, threaded the waterways of half a continent. The Recollet and Jesuit fathers were not far behind them; and the Jesuits established in the Huron country south of the Georgian Bay a group of mission stations which might have become, had they not been wiped out by the Iroquois in 1649, nuclei of permanent settlement. But neither the fur traders nor the "black robes" were colonists in the true sense of the word. They belonged to the floating population of New France; and their

heroic achievements should not be allowed to overshadow the no less heroic labours of the small group of actual settlers. It was these who cleared the first farms of New France; and from them the majority of the people of French Canada to-day trace their descent.

In 1663 a new era dawned in the history of New France. *Jean Talon* The king revoked the charter of the Company of New France, and took the colony back into his own hands. In 1665 he sent out as *intendant*, or business manager of the colony, a very able official named Jean Talon. Talon saw that the great need of New France was more people; and he embarked upon an ambitious programme of "building up" New France. When, in 1666, a regiment of French soldiers, the Carignan-Salières, was disbanded in Canada, he persuaded a number of the officers to settle on the land with their men about them; and the town of Sorel, for example, is to-day the outgrowth of one of these semi-military settlements. There were in the colony twice as many men as women; and Talon persuaded the French government to send out, in order to redress the balance, whole shiploads of marriageable young women. By 1672 a thousand of these "king's girls", as they were called, had been shipped to Canada; and all of them found husbands within a few days of landing at Quebec. Talon imposed penalties on bachelors; generous dowries were given by the king to married couples; and special bounties were granted to families containing twelve or more children. By these means the tradition of early marriages and large families was encouraged, a tradition which still persists in French Canada. The birth rate soared to astonishing heights. In 1672, out of a population of barely seven thousand, there were more than eleven hundred children baptized in New France. Ten years after Talon had launched his

new immigration policy, the population of New France was ten thousand, or four times what it had been when Talon came to the colony.

*The growth
of
population*

With the departure of Talon from Canada in 1672, active immigration came to an end. Settlers, especially of the higher class, continued to find their way from Old France to New; but during the remainder of the French period, the growth of the population of the colony was mainly due to natural increase. There is reason to believe that the population of New France doubled every thirty years or so after 1672. The same process was at work in Acadia. There an original nucleus of less than five hundred settlers in 1670 had grown by the middle of the eighteenth century to over twelve thousand. Yet, by the end of French rule in Canada there were in both New France and Acadia not more than eighty thousand inhabitants, a mere handful as compared with the million and a quarter inhabitants in the English colonies to the south.

*The slow
growth of
New France*

For the slow growth of New France there were several reasons. One of these was the unsuitable character of the early colonists and the tales of the terrors of the Canadian winter which they carried back with them to France. Later, the inroads which the Iroquois made on the colony acted as a check on immigration. Most Frenchmen had little incentive to leave their native land for a country where, by all accounts, one was likely to be either frozen to death or scalped.

*Comparison
of New
England
and New
France*

In the English colonies to the south, a fruitful source of immigration was found in those elements in the population of the British Isles—such as the Independents, Quakers, Puritans, and Roman Catholics—which were out of harmony with the religious ideas dominant in England at the time. But, except during the earliest

period, the Huguenots, or Protestants of France were barred from Canada. It was explicitly laid down in the charter of the Hundred Associates that only good Catholics should be allowed to settle in the colony. Neither the Church nor the fur traders actively encouraged settlement. Both had their eyes on the Indians; and between them they would have made New France merely a combined mission station and trading post. What growth in population took place was due directly to the action of the government; and even the government did not adopt the best means of encouraging the growth of New France. It watched over the affairs of the infant colony with such paternal care that it tended to kill among the people of New France that initiative and self-reliance which were such striking features of life in New England.

The fullest and most recent account of the history of New France is G. M. Wrong, *The Rise and Fall of New France* (New York, 1928). Champlain's colonizing work is described in C. W. Colby, *The Founder of New France* (Toronto, 1915), and Talon's in T. Chapais, *The Great Intendant* (Toronto, 1914).

§ 2. HOW NEW FRANCE WAS GOVERNED

THE key-note of government in New France was absolutism. At no period did the people of the colony enjoy any effective voice in the regulation of their own affairs such as was enjoyed by the people of the English colonies. Before 1663 the colony was ruled by a local governor, who enjoyed almost despotic power; and after 1663 the government of New France was modelled on that of a typical province of Old France. In each of the thirty provinces of France the king was represented by a governor, but the governor had, by the middle of the seventeenth century, been shorn of most of his powers, and had become mainly a ceremonial figure. The

*Provincial
government
in Old
France*

actual administration of the province was in the hands of a royal *intendant* or business manager for the king, who had oversight of all matters relating to "justice, police, and finance". In many of the provincial capitals there was a bishop, exercising spiritual and, to some extent, civil powers. There was also, in most of the provinces, a *parlement* or court of record, which exercised certain judicial functions; and in two or three of the provinces there was a Sovereign Council, which enjoyed, together with the intendant, judicial, administrative, and even legislative powers.

*The
government
of New
France*

Such was the complicated system of government introduced into Canada in 1663. Between the powers of the governor, the intendant, the Sovereign Council, and even the bishop, there was no clear line of demarcation. The first intendant, Talon, was not only a man of force and ability, but he had also the ear of the colonial minister, the famous Colbert, whose relative he was; and under him the office of intendant was the dominating influence in government. But on Talon's return to France in 1672, the Comte de Frontenac was appointed governor; and he strove to give to the office of governor a dominant position. A man of proud and arrogant temper, he was able, as commander-in-chief of the military forces, to assert his authority on occasion; but the result was that he was continually embroiled in quarrels with the intendant and the bishop. He was recalled on this account in 1682; but his successors failed so dismally that in 1689 he was reappointed, and continued to represent the king in Canada until his death in 1698. The Sovereign Council (renamed in 1674 the Supreme Council) never exerted a powerful influence, but was chiefly a battleground for the bickerings of the governor, the intendant, and the bishop. Until 1675 the governor presided over

the Council; but in that year the intendant was made president. So great was Frontenac's anger at this affront that he was appeased by being given a seat at the Council board directly opposite the intendant; and thus the two chief officers of government sat glaring at each other, almost like rival heads of the government, during the remainder of the French régime.

Frontenac, it is true, soon after his arrival in the colony, attempted to introduce a popular element into the government. In 1672 he called together at Quebec an assembly or parliament of the three estates—the clergy, the nobles, and the third estate or commons—the “states general” of New France. His object may have been to impress the Indians, or he may have had the idea of enlisting the support of the people of New France against the pretensions of intendant or bishop. In any case his experiment was short-lived. Letters had barely time to cross and re-cross the Atlantic when Frontenac received a stiff rebuke from the king's minister: “You should very rarely, or (to speak more correctly) never, give this corporate form to the inhabitants of the colony . . . It is well that each one should speak for himself, and no one for all.” A clearer enunciation of the principle of absolutism it would be difficult to find.

*The “states
general”*

It was in the work of the intendant that the spirit of the government of New France was most clearly seen. He had oversight of justice, police, and finance. He held a court in which he dispensed justice arbitrarily in matters such as in English communities were usually submitted to trial by jury. Cases of treason, sedition, or counterfeiting money, disputes relating to trade and commerce, controversies relating to land tenure—with all these he dealt summarily. His justice was quick and

*The office of
intendant*

ready. "Everybody pleads his own cause", wrote Lachontan; "our Themis is prompt, and she does not bristle with fees, costs, and charges." But this did not alter the fact that it was arbitrary, rather than democratic justice. In his police powers the intendant touched nearly every phase of life in the colony. He issued edicts regulating the system of weights and measures or the disposal of refuse, or prohibiting coasting in winter on the hilly streets of Quebec. Sunday observance, reckless driving, stray cattle, the making of gutters, smoking in the streets, precedence at religious services, the building of fences, the guardianship of minors, the holding of negro slaves—these are only a few of the subjects on which he legislated. He descended even, in one edict, to ordaining that all dogs should be at home by nine o'clock at night. Periodically he sent to the king's minister long dispatches or reports dealing with nearly every aspect of colonial life; and these the king's minister or his subordinates read carefully. In the case of the longer dispatches, abstracts were often made for the personal perusal of the king; and while Louis XIV lived, he was in the habit of making on these dispatches or abstracts marginal notes, which were the basis of the dispatches sent back to Canada.

Paternalism Nothing, indeed, could have been more elaborate and exhaustive than the supervision which the royal government at Versailles exercised over the affairs of the colony. Especially after 1674, when the king took back into his own hands many of the powers which had hitherto been exercised by his representatives in Canada, all the chief appointments to office in the colony were made by the king. Even minor officials were encouraged to report direct to Versailles; and the official correspondence of the time is filled with their complaints and counter com-

plaints. The king was the final court of appeal in all sorts of cases; and there was no case in which, like Solomon, he was not willing to show his wisdom. If two heirs disputed over an estate, the adjudication of the matter was often referred to him; and when the wife of a deceased recorder of the Sovereign Council committed an indiscretion, he did not think it beneath his dignity to order that she should be confined in a convent. As a result, the colony looked to the king for nearly everything. The dispatches of the intendants are filled with requests for iron-workers and brick-makers, for potters and glass-blowers, for surgeons and instructors in navigation, for horses and donkeys, for printing-presses, and even for "money to build store-houses". To each request the king's ministers lent a patient ear; and if France lost Canada in 1763, it was assuredly not because they did not read the colonial dispatches.

See F. Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada* (Boston, 1874) and W. P. M. Kennedy, *The Constitution of Canada* (London, 1922), Chap. 2.

§ 3. THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

OVER three-fourths of the people of New France lived upon the land. The officials, the professional classes, the merchants and traders were concentrated in the towns; and there was a constant tendency among the young men of all classes in the colony to escape into the forest to trade with the Indians. But these elements in the population were relatively small. New France was predominantly an agricultural and rural community.

The type of settlement was borrowed directly from Old France. Unlike England, France had not by the seventeenth century outgrown the feudal system of mediæval times. The land was still granted by the

*The people
of
New France*

*The
seigniorial
system*

king to lords or *seigneurs*: and these sub-granted their lands to tenants, who were either lesser lords or merely peasants (*censitaires*). The holder of a *seigneurie* had to take an oath of fealty and homage to the king; he had to give to the king, when required to do so, a stipulated amount of military service; and when the seigneurie changed hands, except by direct succession, he had to pay to the king a fixed proportion of its price or value. The humble tenant was under similar, but more onerous obligations. He, too, had to give the seigneur military service; he had to pay the seigneur a fixed proportion of the value of his land when it changed hands, except by direct descent from father to son; and he had to pay the seigneur an annual tax, known as the *cens et rentes*. Still more vexatious, the seigneur enjoyed over his tenants certain privileges such as the banal right (*droit de banalité*). He compelled the peasant to bring his grain to be ground at the seigniorial mill, his bread to be baked at the seigniorial oven, his grapes to be pressed at the seigniorial wine-press. Other privileges he enjoyed were those of exacting forced labour from the peasant, of taking toll of fish caught in seigniorial waters, and of hunting over his fields without being compelled to give any compensation for damage done to the crops. These privileges had been conceded to the seigneur in the anarchy of the Middle Ages in return for the protection which he gave his tenants; but with the growth of the power of the French monarchy and the protection which it gave to all subjects of the French king, these privileges became an anachronism. They had lost their only justification; and the unrest they roused is commonly regarded as one of the important causes of the French Revolution of 1789.

Such was the seigniorial system introduced into Canada in the seventeenth century. It has sometimes been represented that this system introduced into New France the miseries from which the peasantry of Old France suffered; but such was not the case. Amid the more primitive conditions in New France, the system recovered some of the justification it had had in the Middle Ages in Europe. Instead of robber barons and lawless bandits, the Canadian farmer had to face the threat of attack from Indian war-parties and English invaders; and the grouping of settlers under a seigneur gave the colony a defensive strength it would not otherwise have possessed. In Canada, moreover, the "incidents" of the feudal system did not bear so hardly on the censitaire as in France. The cens et rentes were generally paid, not in money, but in kind, and were trifling in amount—a brace of chickens or a few bushels of grain, as a rule. On Michaelmas Day (November 11) each year, the *habitants* (as the censitaires were called in Canada), gathered at the manor-house to pay their dues; and the occasion was a sort of annual jollification. Even the obligation to pay to the king or to the seigneur a part of the mutation value of land when it changed hands otherwise than by direct descent, was not burdensome; part of the payment was usually remitted, and in any case land was so cheap that the amount of money involved was nominal.

As for the banal rights, the only privilege enjoyed by the seigneur in Canada was that of the obligatory use of the seigniorial mill; and this was more a burden than a privilege. In practice, it meant that the seigneur was compelled to provide his habitants with a flour-mill where none existed; and seldom did the seigneur's mill show a profit. Loopholed and barricaded, it frequently

*The
system
in Canada*

*Seigniorial
rights*

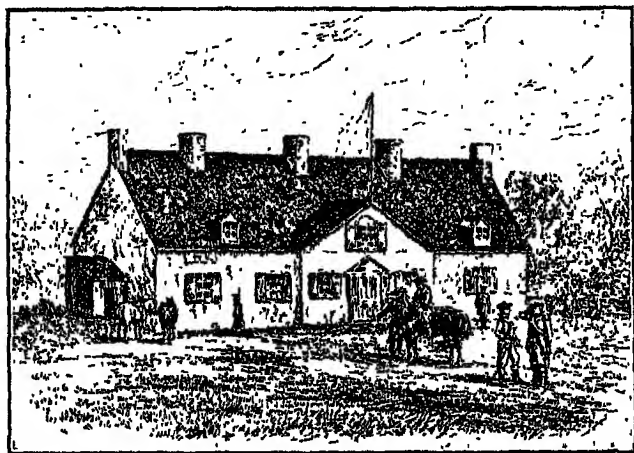
provided the community, moreover, with its only fortification. The other banal rights were non-existent in Canada: there were no grapes to be pressed, and the Canadian winter made the use of the seigniorial bake-oven impracticable, since dough could not be carried far out-of-doors without being frozen. The right of exacting forced labour from the peasant never became vexatious, since it was limited in Canada as a rule to three days in the year—one at seed-time, one at hay-making time, and one at harvest-time. Hunting in Canada took place, not in the fields, but in the forest; and, while the right of taking toll of the fish caught in seigniorial waters was in some seigneuries valuable, it was not a cause of discontent in a country where the rivers and lakes still teemed with fish. It will be seen, therefore, that in New France the seigniorial system worked, on the whole, to the advantage, not of the seigneur, but of the habitant. The seigneur was compelled to people his lands with settlers, under penalty of having them revert to the crown; and if the settlers had any grievance or complaint against the seigneur, the intendant was always ready to step in and see that justice was done.

*Appearance
of the
seigneuries*

The seigneuries in New France were granted mostly along the banks of the St. Lawrence and Richelieu Rivers, since these were the highways of the colony. They varied greatly in size: the smallest contained little more than a square mile, while the largest was over a thousand times as large. They were almost invariably oblong in shape, with the narrow side fronting on the river; and the holdings of the habitants also abutted on the river. As these were subdivided among the numerous children of the habitant, they assumed more and more a long, ribbon-like appearance, being often several miles in depth and only a few rods in width. The result was

that each bank of the St. Lawrence, between Quebec and Montreal, became in time a long straggling settlement. "Both sides of the river all along, from Quebec to this place," wrote the Baron de Lahontan from Montreal as early as 1683, "are so replenished with inhabitants that one may justly call 'em two continued villages of sixty leagues in length."

The houses in these villages or *côtes* (as they were called) were very much of a type. They were solid, low, ^{The}house



A FRENCH-CANADIAN MANOR-HOUSE

stocky buildings, with steep-pitched roofs, dormer windows, and projecting eaves, so that they had somewhat the appearance of bungalows. Whether built of felled timber or rough-hewn stone, they were covered with boards of pine; and these were, as a rule, whitewashed every spring. From the river the houses had thus a neat and trim appearance. Behind them were usually

found the outbuildings, the barns and stables of untrimmed logs, the root-houses and the bake-ovens of boulders and clay. Here and there rose the steeple of the church, the centre about which the life of the community turned; and not far away was usually found the house of the seigneur. In the later days of New France, some very attractive manor-houses of stone were built by the better class of seigneur; but in the earlier days of the colony most of the manor houses were of the same type as the houses of the habitants, and were distinguished only by their greater size and the larger number of doors and windows they contained.

*Interior
of the
houses*

The interiors of the houses were simple. There were usually two or three rooms on the ground floor, one of which was a combined living-room and kitchen, with a great fireplace at one end which provided the sole means of cooking and heating; and the upper storey was a loft, reached by a ladder, in which the children of the family slept on mattresses of straw or feathers. The floors were of hewn timber, sometimes scoured and scrubbed to white smoothness. Woollen rugs, vivid in colour, of a type for which French Canada has become famous, covered part of the floor; and the walls were hung with pictures of saints and a crucifix. The furniture was mostly of domestic manufacture. A dinner table of hewn pine, and chairs of pine saplings with seats of rushes or woven underbark, constituted most of it. Almost the only things the habitant did not make for himself were the pots and pans which hung about the fireplace, and the flint-lock and powder-horn which hung from the beams. Table utensils were so scarce that, as a rule, guests brought their knives and forks with them. In the houses of the upper class, it is true, there were tapestries imported from France and silver

and china utensils of European workmanship. But the average inhabitant of Canada had to make use of household furnishings of domestic manufacture.

The ribbon-like character of the habitant's holding *The farms* forced on him a mixed type of farming. He had usually a few acres of marshy land fit only for hay, a tract of upland for ploughing, and an area extending to the rear which might be used for pasturage or might be left uncleared to supply him with firewood. The great staples, however, were wheat and Indian corn or maize. Of wheat New France became an exporter in the eighteenth century. The methods of cultivation were primitive and tended to exhaust the soil, for the habitant had to get what he could from the land when once it was cleared, and could not take thought for the future. Wheat fields yielded on an average only between ten and fifteen bushels an acre. Oats, barley, peas, beans, and other vegetables were grown, as well as hemp, flax, and tobacco—though not as a rule in sufficient quantities for export. From an early date, cows, pigs, sheep, and poultry were introduced into the colony; but these were not of a high standard, being of mongrel breed, undersized, and poorly cared for. There were no horses until about 1670; but thereafter they multiplied rapidly, and in the eighteenth century every habitant had two or three of them—small wiry beasts that proved to be admirably suited to the country. Repeated attempts were made to introduce donkeys into New France, but these never became acclimatized. In the work of the farm, mastiff dogs were sometimes used.

Judged by present-day standards, the lot of the *Poverty* habitant was poverty-stricken. The women attended to the housework, fed the cattle, and even worked in the fields at harvest-time; while the men did the heavier

work of the farm. Every one wore home-made clothing. The men wore trousers and long coats of homespun druggot, with belts of leather or knitted yarn about the waist. The women wore skirts of the same material, and their waists and summer dresses were of home-made calico. Footwear was made at home, usually of deer-hide or cow-hide; and in winter everyone wore *bottes sauvages*, or oiled moccasins laced up half-way or more to the knees. In summer everyone wore straw hats, which the women spent part of each winter in plaiting; and in winter they wore knitted *tuques* of vivid colours. In the district of Quebec, blue *tuques* were worn; in the district of Montreal, red *tuques*. Fortunately, furs were plentiful in the colony, and could be used in winter for coats, caps, and mittens. Children, however, seem to have been subjected to a Spartan simplicity in costume. In summer they went about barefoot, in a single garment without sleeves; and in winter they seem sometimes to have had little more. "A poor man", wrote Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, "will have eight children or more, who run about in winter with bare heads and bare feet, and a little jacket on their backs, live on nothing but bread and eels, and on that grow fat and stout." "The common people in the country", wrote Peter Kalm, a Swedish visitor to Canada in 1749, "seem to be very poor. They have the necessaries of life, and but little else. They are content with meals of dry bread and water, bringing all other provision, such as butter, cheese, flesh, poultry, eggs, etc., to town in order to get money for them."

Gaiety

Poverty is, however, only relative. Peter Kalm himself says of the habitants that "despite their poverty, they are always cheerful and in high spirits". They liked to sing; and their folk-songs, simple, but sprightly

and melodious, derived mostly from Old France, are to-day regarded as one of their greatest contributions to the life of Canada. They smoked vast quantities of home-grown tobacco; and not all the brandy imported into Canada went to the Indians. They had many occasions of jollification, such as the "harvest-home" (*grosse gerbe*), when the last load of the harvest was brought in; and on Sundays and festivals they decked themselves out in their gayest garb. The women adorned themselves with laces and ribbons imported from France to such an extent that more than one official dispatch complained of the prevailing "spirit of extravagance". New France on a day of festival was a blaze of colour.

Life in the towns was naturally on a more elaborate scale than in the country. Here the houses were often three-storied structures of stone. On all occasions of ceremony, the officials and even the well-to-do merchants, dressed as elaborately as if in France, with perukes, scarlet cloaks, buckled shoes, and silk stockings. Especially during the winter season, Quebec was a miniature Versailles. Here lived most of the royal officials, the officers of the garrison, the leading merchants of the colony, as well as many of the professional class; and here during the winter gathered many of the seigneurs. These formed what one visitor to Quebec described as "a select little society which wants nothing to make it agreeable". There were balls, salons, dinners, receptions, amateur theatricals, in a round of gaiety—though it is interesting to note that the clergy laid a restraining hand on the young officers of the Quebec garrison who proposed to give a performance of Molière's *Tartuffe* in 1694. The social circles at Three Rivers and Montreal were more contracted and less brilliant; but even in these places an

*Life in
the towns*

attempt was made to reproduce as far as possible the life of the upper classes in the Old World.

*Industrial
life*

Of industrial development, there was little in New France. Until Talon came as intendant in 1665, all manufactured articles were imported from France. Talon, however, made a gallant attempt to found a number of infant industries. He built a ship-yard at Quebec, and he thus laid the basis of that ship-building business which flourished at Quebec until steel was substituted for wood. He encouraged the establishment of a brewery, so as to lessen the consumption of imported spirits and wines; he set up a tannery, and a factory for the making of hats; and he developed the manufacture of potash and tar. He sought, finally, to get the women of New France to take up spinning and weaving, and furnished the Ursuline sisters with flax and wool that they might teach their charges to make cloth. But most of Talon's industries were short-lived. The population of the colony was too small to provide a large enough market; and the high cost of transportation made export unprofitable. It was, moreover, the view of the French government that the colony should concentrate its energies on producing raw materials, and that with these it should buy manufactured wares, in return, from France. The doctrine that colonies existed only for the benefit of the mother country was current in all the capitals of Europe at this time, and was held even by a man so enlightened as Montcalm. "Let us beware", wrote Montcalm, "how we allow the establishment of industries in Canada, or she will become proud and mutinous like the English colonies." Almost the only industries which really took root in New France were those carried on in the homes of the people, such as the making of home-spun cloth.

The history of trade and commerce in New France is a tangled skein. At first, a monopoly either of the fur trade or of all trade in the colony was granted to a bewildering succession of individuals and companies. Under the Company of One Hundred Associates, for instance, the habitants could not trade with the Indians or with each other; they had to buy from, and sell to, the Company at the Company's prices. In 1645 the tide of discontent among the habitants rose so high that the Company was forced to surrender its monopoly of trade, on condition that it should receive an annual payment of one thousand pounds of beaver skins; but this merely resulted in the monopoly being handed over to a company known as the *Compagnie des Habitants*, formed by the leading merchants of the colony. Even after the surrender of the charter of the Hundred Associates in 1663, the monopoly of trade, not only in Canada, but in all the French colonies, was granted to a new company, the Company of the West Indies. But this arrangement proved no more satisfactory than those which had preceded it, and in 1669 the trade of the colony was ostensibly thrown open to all comers.

*Trade and
commerce*

This did not mean, however, that trade became free. What it meant was that trade henceforth came under the regulation and supervision of the royal officials. Since colonial trade was conceived to exist for the benefit of the mother country, the mother country levied taxes on all goods imported into, or exported from, New France. No trade was permitted legally except with France or with other French colonies. The collection of the taxes was farmed out to individuals who were known as "farmers of the revenue"; and through their hands all commerce had to pass. Traders, for instance, were not as a rule allowed to ship furs directly to France. They

*Restriction
on trade*

had to turn them over to the farmers of the revenue, who paid them the price fixed by ordinance, less the tax due to the crown. On goods coming into the country, the government fixed also by ordinance the rate of profit to which traders were entitled. Even the price of bread in the colony was fixed.

*The
merchants*

Although trade was technically open, moreover, to any one who would pay the duties, it was actually in the hands of a ring of Quebec merchants, who had the warehouses to enable them to store what the ships brought in. These merchants were affiliated with the great trading-houses of Rouen or La Rochelle, which shipped to New France; and they were sometimes in league with officials in the colony. Their monopoly was therefore at times no less iron-clad than that of the old trading companies. Many of them made fortunes. "I have known twenty of these peddlars", wrote the Baron de Lahontan in 1691, "that had not above a thousand crowns stock when I arrived at Quebec in the year 1683, and when I left that place had got to the tune of twelve thousand crowns." It was this system of government restriction and private monopoly that, in the last days of New-France, enabled the Intendant Bigot and his associates to amass such vast sums of money, and which roused the generally urbane Montcalm to exclaim bitterly, "What a country, where knaves grow rich and honest men are ruined!"

*The
fur trade*

The government tried to regulate even the trade with the Indians. With the object of persuading the Indians to come to Montreal to trade, it established at this place a great annual fair; and here every autumn a picturesque scene took place. The merchants set up their booths outside the palisades of the town; and the Indians brought to them their furs for barter. But not all the Indians came down to Montreal to trade, and

those who did were chiefly from those districts where fur was less plentiful. Hence the government issued licenses permitting approved fur traders to go into the interior, and trade with the Indians in their hunting-grounds. Fur traders proceeding to the Indian country without a license were liable to heavy punishments; and it was the heavy penalties imposed on Radisson and Groseilliers, when they returned from their second expedition to the west, that persuaded them to go over to the English and to help to found the Hudson's Bay Company.

This attempt of the government, however, to regulate and control the trade with the Indians, broke down, with disastrous results. The license system failed utterly to prevent the younger and more adventurous elements in New France from taking to the woods. Edict after edict was promulgated by the government; *mandement* after *mandement* was issued by the Church; but the *coureurs-de-bois* (as the unlicensed traders came to be known) continued to desert the towns and seigneuries of New France in ever-increasing numbers. Even after the fines were paid, the profits of the trade in the interior were great; and there was always in addition the lure of adventure in the wilderness. On their return, the *coureurs-de-bois* proved as a rule a lawless and disturbing element in the population. When they reached Montreal, they often behaved like sailors paid off after a long voyage. Decked out like Indians, they made night and day hideous with their riotous behaviour and reckless gaiety. On such occasions, Montreal was an earlier counterpart of those "wild and woolly" towns of the American West in the days of the cow-punchers and the whiskey smugglers. "You are aware, monseigneur," wrote one of the governors of New France to the king's minister, "that the *coureurs-de-bois* are a great evil,

but you are not aware how great the evil is. It deprives the country of its effective men, makes them intractable, debauched, and incapable of discipline, and turns them into pretended nobles—wearing the sword and decked out with lace, both they and their relations, who all affect to be gentlemen and ladies." The *coureurs-de-bois* were the protest of human nature against the undue paternalism of the government of New France.

Money

At all stages New France imported more than it exported. This fact had an important influence on the fate of the colony, for it meant that money was always scarce in New France. It had to be sent back to France to meet the adverse balance of trade. At first beaver skins were used as currency. Then wheat was made legal tender, and finally moose skins. But these commodities did not take the place of coined money, especially when the colony grew more populous. The experi-



CARD MONEY OF THE FRENCH RÉGIME

ment was adopted of making a coinage somewhat less in value than that of France, but even this drifted back to the mother country. Then, in 1685, the Intendant Meules hit upon the expedient of making paper money. He had no funds to pay the soldiers. "Not knowing to what saint to make my vows", he wrote, "the idea

occurred to me of putting into circulation notes made of cards, each cut into four pieces; and I have issued an ordinance commanding the inhabitants to receive them in payment." The cards were common playing-cards, stamped with the *fleur-de-lis* and a crown, and signed by the intendant. They were convertible, not into coin, but into bills of exchange on France. At first they were accepted at their face value; but as new floods of card money were issued at every financial crisis in the colony's history, their value sank. Even the habitants lost faith in them; and in the last days of New France, the colony floundered in drifts of worthless paper. As the purchasing value of the card money fell, prices naturally rose; and the difficulty of financing New France during its dying years was an important factor in its collapse. The love of money is not only, as the Scriptures say, the root of all evil, but it is also frequently a determining cause in human affairs.

No account of the life of New France would be complete without a description of the part which the Church played in it. From first to last the priests, in their black robes, occupied a conspicuous place in the history of the colony. They accompanied the early explorers, such as Champlain; and the idea of missionary enterprise among the Indians went hand in hand with the prosecution of the fur trade. First the Recollets and Sulpicians, and then the Jesuits, carried the cross far into the wilds of North America. The story of the Jesuit missions in Huronia, which ended in the martyrdom at the hands of the Iroquois of some of the bravest and most devout souls in the annals of Christendom, is a glorious page in the history of New France; but it exerted little practical effect on the history of the colony. The really effective influence of the Church began with the arrival in Canada

The Church

RELATION

DE CE QVI SEST PASSE'
EN LA
NOVVELLE FRANCE
EN L'ANNE'E 1635.

Enuoyée au
R. PERE PROVINCIAL
de la Compagnie de Iesvs
en la Prouince de France.

*Par le P. Paulle Ieune de la mesme Compagnie,
Superieur de la residence de Kebec.*



A PARIS.

Chez SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, Imprimeur
ordinaire du Roy, rue saint Iacques,
aux Cicognes.

M. DC. XXXVI.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY

TITLE PAGE OF THE JESUIT RELATION OF 1635

in 1659 of François Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, as bishop of Petræa and apostolic vicar in New France—a dignity from which he was raised in 1674 to be the first bishop of Quebec.

Bishop Laval was an ecclesiastic of patrician origin. He brooked no opposition, and several governors who crossed his will were recalled, among them the domineering Frontenac. But his personal piety and his disinterestedness were complete, and they have left their mark on French Canada to-day. He fought persistently against the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians; and though he failed in this fight, since it was felt that to deny French brandy to the Indians was merely to drive them "to English rum and Protestantism", he succeeded better in other respects. It was he who divided New France into parishes and provided the parishes with priests. These parishes, which did not always coincide with the seigneuries, became the unit of local government in New France, and the parish church became the centre of community life.

*Bishop
Laval*

It was at the parish church, with its steeple pointing to Heaven, that the habitants gathered every Sunday to receive the Mass. Here they obtained the instruction of the Church with regard to the conduct of life; and here they heard, from the lips of the captain of militia, at the close of the service, the ordinances of the government at Quebec. Here, too, they heard the gossip of the neighbourhood, and learned what news had come from overseas. There was no printing-press in Canada during the French régime, and hence no newspaper. The church door was the habitant's sole newspaper and means of contact with the outer world. The parish priest, moreover, was his chief counsellor, guide, and friend. He baptized him, confirmed him, married him, and buried him.

*The part
played by
the Church*

To him the habitant paid once a year the *dîme* or tithe—originally one-tenth (hence the word "dime"), but in New France one-twenty-sixth, of the year's produce. There were no schools in the colony save those established by the priests and nuns; and in these the youth of New France obtained what education they acquired. Laval University, the chief institution of higher learning in Quebec to-day, owes its origin to the seminary which Bishop Laval established in Quebec in 1608. In the same way, the beginnings of architecture, painting, and music in Canada were connected mainly with the Church. It was in the building of churches, in the painting of religious pictures, and in the performance of religious music that the fine arts obtained their first foothold in Canada. The Church was almost the only agency of the higher life that existed in Canada under the old régime.

For the seigniorial system, see W. B. Munro, *The Seigneurs of Old Canada* (Toronto, 1914) and G. M. Wrong, *A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs* (Toronto, 1926). A good idea of life in New France will be derived from C. W. Colby, *Canadian Types of the Old Régime* (New York, 1908), and from a work of fiction, P. A. de Gaspé, *Les Anciens Canadiens* (Quebec, 1863), translated by Charles G. D. Roberts (London, 1890).

PART III: THE DEFENCE AND FALL OF NEW FRANCE

Cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war.

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Julius Caesar*

§ 1. THE IROQUOIS

*The enemies
of New
France*

NEW France had to defend itself against two enemies—the Iroquois and the English. In the later days of the colony, these two foes were leagued together; and even in the earlier days, the attacks of the Iroquois on New France were not discouraged by the English. But the Iroquois had a quarrel of their own with New France;

and their attacks on it were the first and most serious menace the colony had to face.

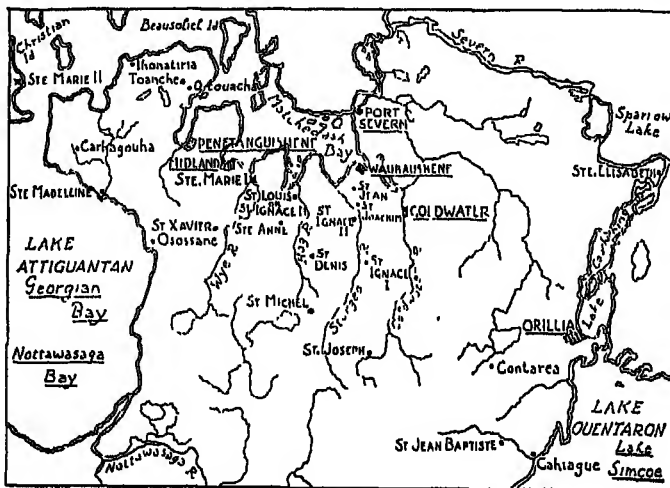
The Iroquois were a confederacy of six nations or tribes of the Huron-Iroquois stock, whose villages lay in what is now the northern part of New York state. They had advanced further along the road to civilization than most of the other native groups in North America. With their war-league of tribes they were superior to their neighbours in political organization; they had developed agriculture to a point unknown among other Indians in North America; and even their "long houses" of bark were an advance on the wigwams or tipis found elsewhere. They were still, however, savages at heart, and were distinguished from their neighbours chiefly by their greater bravery, ferocity, and cruelty. They were in the habit, not only of scalping their enemies, but of subjecting them to the most excruciating tortures; and they were guilty, on occasion, of the ghastly custom of eating human flesh. "My pen", wrote one of the Jesuit missionaries in New France, "has no ink black enough to describe the Iroquois' fury."

It was upon a war-party of these redoubtable savages that Samuel de Champlain stumbled on the shores of Lake Champlain in 1609, when, with a party of Algonquins, he was exploring the Richelieu valley. A forest fight ensued; but a volley or two from the French muskets struck such terror into the hearts of the Iroquois that they fled in dismay. Six years later, with a war-party of Hurons, Champlain again attacked the Iroquois. Crossing Lake Ontario, he and his allies attempted to carry by storm a fortified Iroquois village near Lake Oneida. On this occasion however, owing to the inconstancy of his Huron allies, he was compelled to beat a hasty re-

treat, and indeed narrowly escaped with his life. Never again did he try conclusions with the Iroquois. But the damage was done. By these two actions the French incurred the sleepless hostility of the most implacable of all the Indian tribes; and in the years that followed these wreaked on New France a terrible revenge.

*The
destruction
of the
Jesuit
missions*

Their first blow fell on the mission stations which the Jesuits had founded among the Huron villages to the south of the Georgian Bay. Between the Hurons and the Iroquois, though they belonged to the same linguistic family, there had been an age-long antagonism; and the



HURONIA

Iroquois campaign was directed primarily against the Hurons. But the French had identified themselves with the Huron cause; and they suffered with their allies. In the summer of 1648, the Iroquois fell on St. Joseph, the southernmost of the Huron villages, where Father Antoine Daniel had built a little mission church; and



THE MARTYRDOM OF THE JESUITS IN HURONIA
From DuCreux, *Historia Canadensis* (Paris, 1664)

there Father Daniel was shot down in cold blood at the foot of the altar. His body was destroyed in the flames that consumed the building. The following spring the Iroquois returned to the attack, and one by one the Huron villages were wiped out. At the village of St. Louis, the Iroquois seized Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalumant; and these heroic missionaries of the Cross were done to death at a nearby village with every torture which the cruel minds of the Iroquois could devise. The Iroquois did not venture to attack the centre of the Huron missions, the fortified residence of Ste. Marie on the little river Wye about a mile east of the present town of Midland on the Georgian Bay; but by the summer of 1649 the position of the Jesuit Fathers and their lay servants at Ste. Marie was so perilous that they were compelled to take refuge, with the remnants of the Huron nation, on one of the Christian Islands in the Georgian Bay. After a miserable winter, during which the inhabitants of the island all but starved to death, the Jesuits made their way back to Quebec in the summer of 1650, and the Huron mission came to an end. Some of the Hurons returned with the Jesuits to Quebec, near which they settled; others escaped to the neighbourhood of Detroit, where they came to be known later as Wyandots. Of the powerful Huron tribe only a few scattered remnants remained.

*In the St.
Lawrence
valley*

Meanwhile, the Iroquois had begun to attack also the French settlements on the St. Lawrence. The little settlement of Ville-Marie, on the Island of Montreal, escaped the attentions of the Iroquois for some time after its foundation by Maisonneuve in 1642; but one day a party of friendly Algonquins, closely pursued by an Iroquois band, fled for refuge to the shelter of the little fort, and thenceforth Ville-Marie knew no peace. The

Iroquois, armed with guns which they had obtained from the Dutch traders at Fort Orange on the Albany River, infested the neighbourhood; and, while they made no direct assault on Ville-Marie, they made it impossible for the defenders of the fort to sally forth except in force and armed to the teeth. The menace of the Iroquois, indeed, proved from an early date a positive check on the growth of the colony. It interrupted the trade in furs, and it checked settlement. Even among the farms of the lower St. Lawrence it was ever present. "We cannot even plough our fields," wrote Pierre Boucher, one of the early settlers, "much less make hay, without continual risk . . . Wives are always uneasy lest their husbands, who have gone away to work in the morning, may be killed or taken prisoners."

The menace came to a head in the spring of 1660. Word came that, during the preceding winter, large numbers of the Iroquois had wintered on the Ottawa River, and were planning an assault on Montreal and the other settlements of the French on the St. Lawrence. A number of young men in Montreal, led by Adam Dollard, *Sieur des Ormeaux*, a young Frenchman who had come to Montreal only a year and a half before, decided that the best way of meeting the Iroquois attack was to go out to meet it. Having made their last wills, and having received the sacrament in the little chapel of the Hôtel-Dieu in Montreal, Dollard and sixteen youths, most of them unaccustomed to the bush, set off up the Ottawa; and at the Long Sault, some fifty miles north-west of Montreal, they met the Iroquois warbands. In a half-ruined Algonquin fort of tree trunks and logs, with a few Indian allies, they held at bay for days the flower of the Iroquois braves; and, though they were at last overwhelmed, each one selling his life as

*The heroes
of the Long
Sault*

dearly as he could, with incredible heroism, they achieved their object. The Iroquois, having had their fill of fighting, hesitated and lost courage. If seventeen Frenchmen and a few Indians in a ruinous fort could hold at bay for over a week hundreds of the picked warriors of the Iroquois tribes, what sort of resistance might be expected from the walled towns of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec? The projected attack on New France did not take place; and, thanks to the sacrifice of their lives, which Dollard and his companions had made, the settlers along the St. Lawrence were able to continue their work in the fields and the forest. As the Greeks who perished at Thermopylae did not die in vain, so the Frenchmen who died at the Canadian Thermopylae of the Long Sault compassed the salvation of their own people.

*De Tracy's
expedition*

With the coming of royal government in Canada in 1663, a new and more aggressive policy was adopted toward the Iroquois. An energetic and efficient French army officer, the Sieur de Tracy, was appointed lieutenant-general of the French territories in America; and when he arrived in Canada in 1665, he brought with him several companies of the Carignan-Salières regiment—the first French regulars to land on Canadian soil. With these he made, in the autumn of 1666, a punitive expedition up the Richelieu valley into northern New York, and carried fire and sword through the villages of the Mohawks, the most easterly of the Iroquois tribes. The Mohawks did not attempt to oppose the small army which Tracy brought with him; and, according to their own account, hundreds of them died during the following winter as a result of the destruction of their homes and food. For the first time the Iroquois had learnt the weight of the arm of the French king; and for

nearly twenty years after 1666 the French settlements in the St. Lawrence valley enjoyed comparative peace.

In this result an important factor was the policy of the Comte de Frontenac, who was governor of New France from 1672 to 1682. Frontenac was a French nobleman of haughty and arrogant bearing; but he seems to have understood instinctively the Indian temperament. So thoroughly did he enter into the outlook of the Indians that he could lead them in the war-dance without loss of dignity. In 1673 he built at Cataraqui, on the site of the present city of Kingston, a fort which was within striking distance of the Iroquois settlements to the south of Lake Ontario; and to Cataraqui (or Fort Frontenac, as the new fort was named) he invited the emissaries of the Iroquois tribes to come for a conference. His treatment of the Iroquois at this conference had in it something of genius. He adopted every means available to overawe them with the might of the French king, even to bringing up from Montreal two gaudily painted barges mounted with small cannon; and at the same time he won the good-will of the Iroquois chiefs by means of the most lavish hospitality and the grossest flattery. He said to them, in effect, that he was their friend and well-wisher and wished to live in peace with them; but that, if they chose war instead of peace, they saw what they would have to contend against, and their blood would be upon their own heads. This policy was completely successful; and during the ten years of Frontenac's first régime as governor, New France was wholly free from Iroquois invasion.

In 1682, however, Frontenac was recalled; and when once his guiding hand was removed, the Iroquois fury broke out anew. His successors in the governorship, the Sieur de la Barre and the Marquis de Denonville,

*Frontenac
and the
Iroquois*

*La Barre
and
Denonville*

failed utterly in their dealings with the Iroquois. La Barre, a blustering old soldier, showed incredible weakness in his one futile attempt to overawe and chastise the Iroquois; and Denonville, a soldier of better ability, showed no appreciation of the Indian mind. He made the fatal mistake of treating the Iroquois with treachery and duplicity; and when in 1687, with an army of three thousand men, white and red, he invaded the Iroquois country, he contented himself with destroying a single village. In so doing he destroyed the nest, but merely stirred up the wasps. The revenge of the Iroquois was swift, sudden, and spectacular. In the summer of 1689, the Iroquois fell upon the little village of Lachine, about six miles west of Montreal, and butchered the majority of the inhabitants, man, woman, and child. Those who were not massacred were carried off captive, to be subjected in some cases to tortures worse than death itself.

*The return
of
Frontenac*

In this crisis the French government turned again to Frontenac. This old man, now past the Psalmist's span of three score years and ten, seemed the only person who could save New France. "I send you back to Canada," wrote Louis XIV, "where I am sure you will serve me as well as you did before." This confidence was not misplaced. Immediately on his arrival in the colony in the autumn of 1689, Frontenac set himself to restore by all means possible the prestige of the French among the Indians. He rebuilt Fort Frontenac, which had been abandoned and destroyed by Denonville. He opened up the trade route to the west, which had been closed by the Iroquois, and he placed a strong garrison even in distant Michilimackinac. Against the English border settlements to the south he dispatched a number of raiding-parties of *coureurs-de-bois* and Indians; and the depredations wrought by these parties were meant as a

warning to the Iroquois. Frontenac hoped that by this policy he might succeed in bringing the Iroquois to terms. But the blood of the Five Nations was up, and could not be cooled. Seeing this, Frontenac declared on them war to the knife. For several years a bitter struggle was waged between the French and their dusky foes. In this there were many dramatic incidents. Chief among these was the defence, in 1692, of the fort at Verchères on the St. Lawrence, by Madeleine, the fourteen-year-old daughter of the seigneur of Verchères, with a garrison of five, two of whom were Madeleine's younger brothers and one of whom was an old man of eighty. The spirit which this daughter of New France showed in defying a large war-party for over a week, until relief arrived, was a good illustration of the courage with which the people of the colony rose to the situation. In 1693 Frontenac himself led a strong expedition into the heart of the Iroquois country south of Lake Ontario; and here he wrought such havoc among the villages of the Onondagas and the Onondas that the warlike zeal of the Iroquois cooled off. They cried quits, their daring and energy broken by their losses; and when Frontenac died in 1698, the Iroquois menace had virtually disappeared.

In 1701 Frontenac's successor, the Chevalier de Callière, held a great council of the Indians at Montreal. This was attended, not only by representatives of the western tribes, but also by delegates of the Iroquois confederacy; and at it the calumet was smoked and the hatchet buried. Henceforth New France enjoyed freedom from the attacks of the Iroquois for over fifty years, when the outbreak of the Seven Years' War brought the Iroquois, as the allies of the English, once more into the field. But in the operations that resulted in the fall of

*The burial
of the
hatchet*

New France, they played a minor and subordinate part; and their elimination as a real threat to the life of New France was due primarily to the proud and indomitable old French aristocrat who, when nearly eighty years of age, himself carried fire and sword through their villages.

Champlain's relations with the Indians are dealt with in C. W. Colby, *The Founder of New France* (Toronto, 1914) and R. Fleuley, *Samuel de Champlain* (Toronto, 1921); the story of the Jesuit missions is told in F. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America* (Boston, 1872), and T. G. Marquis, *The Jesuit Missions* (Toronto, 1916); and Frontenac's relations with the Indians are dealt with in C. W. Colby, *The Fighting Governor* (Toronto, 1914) and W. D. Le Sueur, *Count Frontenac* (Toronto, 1920).

§ 2. THE ENGLISH

*The English
in North
America*

MORE serious than the threat of the Iroquois against New France was that of the English. Since the English ships of John Cabot had made their landfall on Canadian soil, the English had displayed a vigorous, if intermittent, interest in what ultimately became British North America. As early as 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a half-brother of the famous Sir Walter Raleigh, had attempted to found a colony in Newfoundland; and in 1621 Lord Baltimore—the English nobleman who later founded the colony of Maryland—actually made a beginning with a settlement in this island. In 1610 Henry Hudson had led the way into Hudson Bay; and on the shores of this Bay the English Hudson's Bay Company later established themselves. In 1585 Sir Walter Raleigh founded a short-lived colony at Roanoke in Virginia; and in 1607—the year before Champlain built his *Habitation* at Quebec—the London Company established at Jamestown in Virginia the first permanent settlement of Englishmen on American soil. Then, in 1620, came the Pilgrim Fathers; and the colony which they founded at Plymouth was the nucleus out of which

arose New England. In the end, no fewer than thirteen separate and distinct colonies were established by the English along the Atlantic seaboard. While the French, therefore, were making good their hold on the St. Lawrence valley, the English had planted their flag firmly to the north, east, and south of New France, and were in a position to threaten, whenever they wished to do so, the very life of the infant French colony.

Under these circumstances it was almost inevitable that a struggle should take place between the English and the French for mastery in North America. This duel lasted for nearly a hundred and fifty years. The battleground on which it was fought covered half a continent, from Hudson Bay to the mouth of the Mississippi, and from Newfoundland to the Ohio valley. The tide of battle ebbed and flowed, success resting now with one side and now with another. But at last, on the Plains of Abraham outside Quebec, victory perched on the banners of the English; and French dominion in North America came to an end.

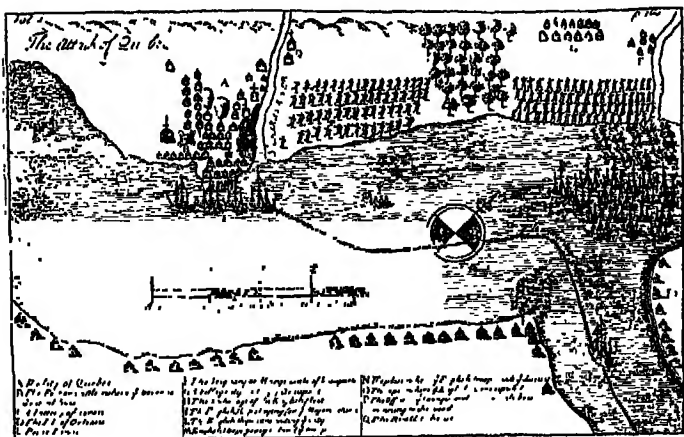
The struggle first reached an acute stage in Acadia. Hardly had the French settlement at Port Royal begun to take root, when it was destroyed in 1613 by an English expedition from Virginia, under a typical English sea-dog, Samuel Argall. From this time until its final cession to Great Britain a century later, Acadia was little more than a shuttlecock in the game of international politics. In 1621 James I of England actually granted Acadia to Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, under the name of Nova Scotia. A short-lived colony of Scots was established at Port Royal; and James I created an order of baronets of Nova Scotia which was in existence until recent times. Three times, in fact, Acadia was overrun by the English, and three times it was handed back

to France. It was only after Port Royal was captured, for the fourth time, by a combined force of British and New Englanders in 1710, that Acadia was by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, finally transferred to British rule, and became Nova Scotia. Even then Cape Breton Island remained French, and here was built, guarding the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the powerful fortress of Louisbourg. This fortress was captured by a New England force in 1745; but it, too, was restored to France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Only toward the close of the Seven Years' War, in 1758, did it finally pass into British hands.

*The struggle
in the St.
Lawrence
valley*

If Acadia was perhaps the "cockpit" of America, this, however, was only because it was the most convenient theatre of operations. From an early date, even the St. Lawrence valley was the scene of conflict between the French and the English. In 1628 an English fleet under Sir David Kirke sailed into the St. Lawrence and captured Tadoussac; the following year Kirke forced the surrender of Quebec; and for several years the English flag floated over Champlain's tiny settlement beneath Cape Diamond. Thanks to Champlain's efforts, the post at Quebec was, in 1632, by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, handed back to France; but not much more than half a century later, the English of New England returned to the attack. A large flotilla under Sir William Phips, a New Englander born and bred, sailed up the St. Lawrence and demanded the surrender of Quebec in 1690. On this occasion, however, the attack was unsuccessful. When Phips asked for an answer to his summons of surrender, the gallant old Comte de Frontenac replied that his answer would be "by the mouths of my cannon and by musket-shots"; and with this answer Sir William Phips had perforce to be content. In 1711, a

British fleet, under Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, sailed into the St. Lawrence, bent on the conquest of Canada; but many of Walker's ships came to grief on the rocks of the lower river, and he had to return to England without even reaching Quebec. It was only after the



A CONTEMPORARY ILLUSTRATION OF THE ATTACK MADE ON QUEBEC BY THE ENGLISH IN 1690

lapse of another half-century, in 1759, that Admiral Saunders brought up the St. Lawrence the fleet which had on board the army which was destined to place the English flag on the ramparts of Quebec.

Meanwhile, the French were not quiescent. In 1660 they founded a colony at Placentia in Newfoundland, and during the next fifty years they strove valiantly to expel the English from this island. It was only by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 that they were compelled to surrender their claims to Newfoundland, as well as to Acadia. During the same period they strove to drive the

*The struggle
in New-
foundland
and Hudson
Bay*

English from Hudson Bay. In 1686 the Chevalier de Troyes led an expedition overland from the St. Lawrence valley to Hudson Bay, and there succeeded in surprising and capturing Moose Factory, Fort Rupert, and Fort Albany. With him went Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville—the most famous of the seven famous sons of Charles Le Moyne, the seigneur of Longueuil, near Montreal—a native of New France who has been called, not without reason, “the first great Canadian”. Iberville was left by Troyes in command of the French on Hudson Bay in 1686–7, and in the years that followed he wrought great damage to the English interests in Hudson Bay. In 1694 he captured the last remaining post of the English on the Bay, Fort Nelson; and in 1697 he fought off Fort Nelson one of the most dramatic sea-fights in Canadian history. With only one ship, the *Pelican*, he engaged in battle three English men-of-war, the *Hampshire*, the *Hudson Bay*, and the *Dering*. The *Hampshire* was sunk, with all flags flying; the *Hudson Bay* was forced to surrender; and the *Dering* fled. Iberville, who had lost only one man in the engagement, seemed master of Hudson Bay; but in the end his victories proved of no avail. From 1697 to 1713 the French occupied most of the posts on Hudson Bay; but the English retained a foothold at Fort Albany, which they had recaptured; and when the Peace of Utrecht was signed in 1713, the whole of Hudson Bay was handed back to the English.

*Inland
conflict*

It was with the English colonies to the south of New France, however, that the most crucial and far-reaching phases of the struggle took place. So long as the French and English settlements in North America were confined to the seaboard or to the banks of great rivers like the St. Lawrence and the Hudson, there was, except in

Acadia, little conflict between them. Both New France and New England had plenty of room without fighting for it. When the Sieur de Tracy, in his expedition against the Iroquois in 1666, stumbled on an English settlement in northern New York, he was politely received, and departed in peace after an exchange of courtesies. But when inland expansion began to take place, trouble soon resulted.

We have seen that French explorers reached the Mississippi in 1673, and that in 1682 La Salle descended the Mississippi to its mouth. La Salle took possession of the whole of the Mississippi valley in the name of the king of France; and in 1684 he actually attempted to found a colony on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. His attempt failed, for he missed the mouth of the Mississippi, his men mutinied, and he himself was shot down by the mutineers in the spring of 1687 somewhere in the wilderness of Texas. But though his work was cut short, others carried it on. In 1699, Iberville, fresh from his exploits in Hudson Bay, built a French fort at the mouth of the Mississippi; and in 1718 his brother, Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, laid the foundations of the present city of New Orleans. Between New France and this new French colony, which was named Louisiana, there sprang up a chain of forts and trading posts along the Great Lakes, the Illinois River, and the Mississippi, which threatened to hem the English colonies in to the Atlantic seaboard. Whether the French deliberately planned a policy of "encirclement" of the English colonies, is perhaps doubtful; but it was not long before the latter realized the danger that threatened them, and saw that, if they were to have any room for westward expansion, they had to crush French ambitions in North America.

*Border
warfare*

In the debatable ground between New England and New France during this period many border raids and forays took place. Typical of these were the events of 1690. In that year Frontenac, newly returned to Canada as governor, decided that, since the English seemed to be in league with the Iroquois, he would strike a blow at the English settlements in New England and New York. From Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, he dispatched three raiding-parties composed mainly of *coureurs-de-bois* and Indians. The Montreal party, commanded by three of the Le Moyne brothers, fell upon the sleeping village of Schenectady, massacred the helpless English and Dutch inhabitants, and then, laden with booty, returned to Montreal. The party from Three Rivers inflicted a similar fate on the village of Salmon Falls in New Hampshire, and then joined forces with the party from Quebec in an attack on Fort Loyal, an English post situated where the city of Portland, Maine stands to-day. Fort Loyal was razed to the ground; the garrison and the inhabitants were put to the sword; and here, too, the raiders regained Canadian soil scot-free. In these raids the French and Indians carried off many captives; and for years afterwards there were to be found in the Indian wigwams and the convents of New France the children of New England Puritans. Indeed, some families in French Canada to-day trace their descent to these captives, and bear English names, sometimes much corrupted. The cruelty and thoroughness with which these raids were conducted perhaps achieved their aim at the moment; but they roused the English colonists to the most energetic measures of retaliation; and the fleet which New England sent against Port Royal and Quebec in the summer of 1690 was a direct answer to Frontenac's raiders.

The struggle between France and England in the New World was merely a phase of the struggle which, at the same time, was taking place in Europe—a struggle which has been described as “a second Hundred Years’ War”. It was governed, to some extent, by the same considerations. When France and England signed in 1697 the Peace of Ryswick, fighting slackened in North America; when the peace broke down, fighting in North America was resumed; and when the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713, a truce to fighting took place in North America which lasted officially for over a quarter of a century. But the underlying causes of the struggle in North America were different from those in Europe; and even when France and England were officially at peace, intermittent fighting continued along the Canadian border. Both sides continued to prepare for the struggle for mastery which each felt to be inevitable, and which came to a head in what is known as the Seven Years’ War.

The wider struggle

Two books which cover the subject-matter of this section are F. Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict* (2 vols., Boston, 1892), and A. G. Bradley, *The Fight with France for North America* (London, 1900).

§ 3. THE BRITISH CONQUEST

THE Seven Years’ War, which resulted in the conquest of New France by British arms, began officially in 1756. But long before this date, actual hostilities had broken out in North America. On Cape Breton Island the French had begun, early in the eighteenth century, the construction of the great fortress of Louisbourg which was to stand guard at the entrance to the St. Lawrence. On the building of the fortress great sums were expended, so great that the French king wrote to ask if the streets of Louisbourg were being paved with gold. So commanding was the position occupied by the fortress that in

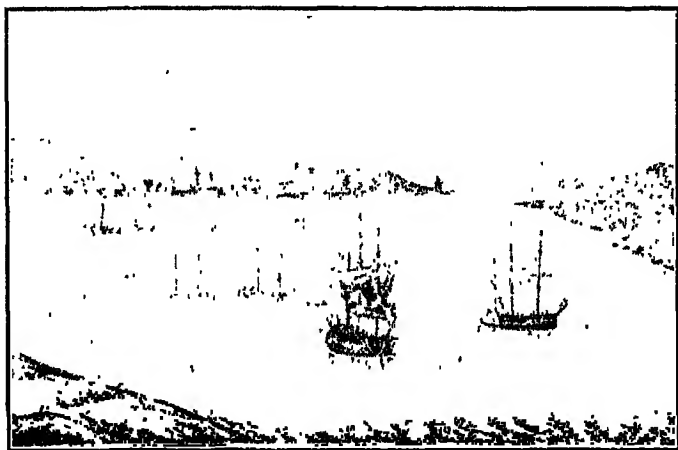
French preparations for war

1745 the New Englanders launched an expedition against it, and, with the aid of a small British fleet, succeeded in forcing it to surrender. Three years later it was handed back to France, much to the disgust of the New Englanders, in exchange for Madras in India; and when the Seven Years' War broke out, it had once more to be reduced by the British. In the interior the French made similar efforts to strengthen their position. In 1754 they pushed south into the Ohio valley, and founded, on the site of the present city of Pittsburgh, Fort Duquesne. A force of Virginians, under George Washington, sent to dislodge them, was defeated and forced to surrender.

*British
prepara-
tions*

The British, on the other hand, were not inactive. Nova Scotia had been ceded to Great Britain in 1713, but for many years no attempt had been made to do more than occupy it with a military garrison. Now, as the shadow of the impending struggle loomed up, an attempt was made to make its occupation effective. In 1749 Halifax was founded as the capital of the province, and English settlement began. Six years later, in 1755, the English governor of Nova Scotia took the extreme step of deporting from the province the entire Acadian population, numbering more than five thousand souls. Over the justification of this measure, controversy has raged from that day to this. By many writers—among them the American poet Longfellow, in his famous poem *Evangeline*—the expulsion of the Acadians has been depicted as harsh and heartless. By others—among them the American historian, Parkman—it has been defended as an act of military necessity. The truth probably lies between these two extremes. There is no doubt that since 1713 the Acadians had been a constant thorn in the side of the British in Nova Scotia, and that they

would, had they been allowed to remain in the province, have been a source of weakness to the British during the Seven Years' War. At the same time it cannot be denied that, judged by modern standards, the expulsion was a very drastic measure and was the cause of cruel hardship. The humble and ignorant peasants of Annapolis Royal, of the Basin of Minas, and the Chignecto Isthmus were rounded up, wereherded on transports,



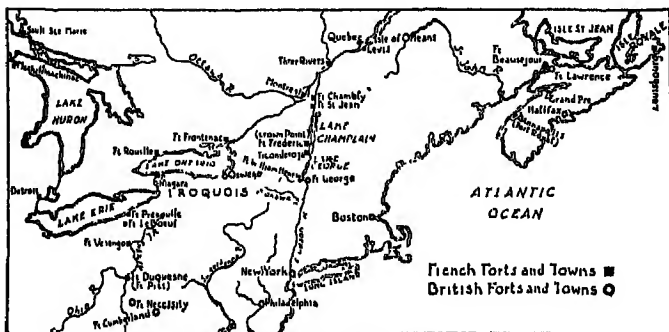
ANNAPOLIS ROYAL IN 1751

and were deported wholesale to the various English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard from Massachusetts to South Carolina. In the confusion of embarkation families were separated, and in some cases they did not come together again for years. In the English colonies the unfortunate exiles were not welcome, and their lot was far from happy. Ultimately, some of the Acadians found their way back to their native land, and from these the

Acadian population of the maritime provinces is to-day descended; but many perished in exile, heart-broken and poverty-stricken.

*The
British
campaign
in 1755*

As the outbreak of the Seven Years' War became imminent, the British in America planned in 1755 a vigorous and comprehensive campaign against New France. No fewer than four distinct attacks were to be made overland. Against Fort Duquesne, the outpost which the French had built in the disputed territory of the Ohio valley, a mixed force of British regulars and



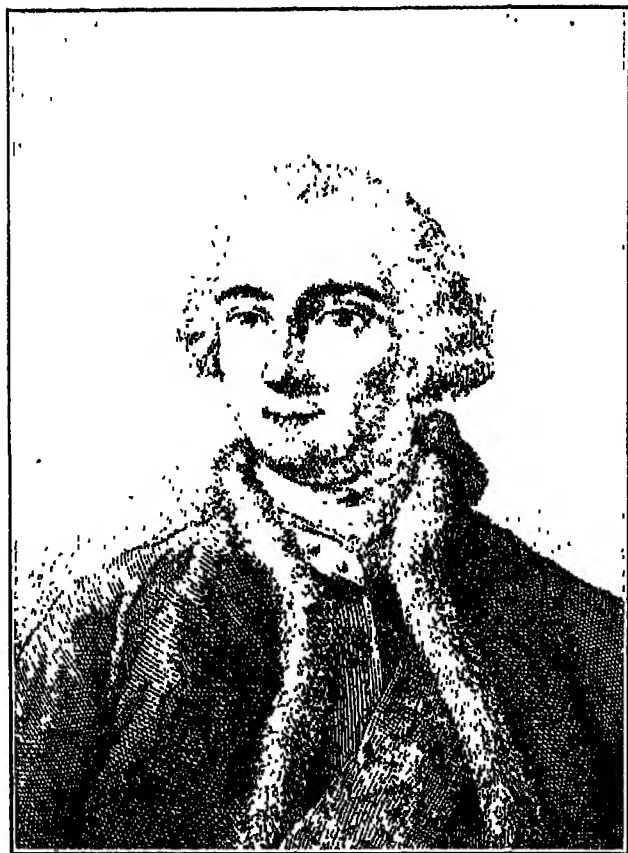
THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

colonial militia was dispatched under General Braddock. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, who had planned the successful expedition against Louisbourg in 1745, was to proceed against Fort Niagara. Sir William Johnson, the famous "Indian-tamer", was to take the French post of Crown Point on Lake Champlain. Finally, Fort Beauséjour, in the Chignecto Isthmus, between what are now the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, was to be reduced by part of the British garrison of Nova Scotia, under Colonel Monckton. This fourfold attack succeeded in the east and

failed in the west. Monckton had no difficulty in capturing Fort Beauséjour. Johnson, after a sharp fight, defeated the forces of Baron Dieskau, the French commander-in-chief, near Lake George; and he built, on the ground he had won, Fort William Henry. But Shirley failed even to reach Fort Niagara; and on the banks of the Monongahela River, Braddock suffered a disastrous defeat. Though he was by no means an incompetent general, his troops were in the main unfamiliar with forest warfare; and, as they neared Fort Duquesne, they fell into an ambush. In their massed formation, conspicuous in the brilliant uniforms of that day, they were shot down in hundreds by the invisible Indians and Canadians. Braddock himself, striving gallantly to rally his men, was mortally wounded; and it was the young Virginian, George Washington, who was chiefly instrumental in saving the remnant of the force.

These, however, were hardly more than preliminary skirmishes. With the actual declaration of war between France and Great Britain in 1756, hostilities began in earnest. Baron Dieskau, the commander-in-chief of the French forces, had been taken prisoner by the English at Lake George; and in 1756 there was sent out to take his place the Marquis of Montcalm. Montcalm is one of the great figures of Canadian history. He was not only a first-class soldier, but he was also an accomplished scholar, with the gift of literary charm; and in a society which was far from incorrupt, he was a model of the old-fashioned virtues. The defence of New France could not have been intrusted to better hands. "I will save New France", wrote Montcalm, "or perish in the attempt;" and he was as good as his word.

*The
outbreak
of war*



THE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM

*French
successes*

Under Montcalm's direction, victory perched for two or three years on the French banners. In 1756 Oswego, an English fort on the south shore of Lake Ontario, fell before the French attack. In 1757 Fort William Henry, built by Sir William Johnson on Lake George two years

before, fell also into Montcalm's hands; though, unfortunately, after the capture of the fort the Indians got out of hand, and a fearful massacre resulted. Finally, in the summer of 1758, at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, Montcalm and his Indian allies repulsed with



A CONTEMPORARY VIEW OF TICONDEROGA

terrific losses the attack of an English army of much superior numbers. It is this last fight which is commemorated in Robert Louis Stevenson's ballad, *Ticonderoga*.

*There fell a war in a woody place,
Lay far across the sea,
A war of the march in the mirk midnight
And the shot from behind the tree,
The shaven head and the painted face,
The silent foot in the wood.*

*The
situation
in Canada*

But there were factors in the situation in Canada which not even Montcalm's genius could convert into omens of victory. In the first place, Montcalm was continually hampered by the interference of the governor of New France, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, a foolish and inefficient person who owed his popularity to his Canadian birth. "I think it very strange", wrote Montcalm to Vaudreuil on one occasion, after the receipt of some ridiculous orders, "that you find yourself, at a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, so well able to make war in a country you have never seen." It was, as we shall see, the countermanding by Vaudreuil of an order of Montcalm that gave the British access to the Plains of Abraham on the eve of the battle which decided the fate of New France. In the second place, the government of the colony, judged by twentieth-century standards, was lamentably corrupt. The intendant, François Bigot, was a man of force and ability; nor was he by any means so great a rogue as he has been painted.¹ On one occasion he pledged the whole of his private fortune to save the colony from a financial crisis. But he inherited an impossible situation. The paper money with which the colony was flooded had fallen so greatly in value that prices had risen to unheard-of heights; and government officials were unable to live on their pay. Under these circumstances all sorts of peculations were winked at; and indeed the intendant was himself one of the worst offenders. About him were gathered a ring of plunderers, who seemed to have combined to strip the colony bare. "Every one", wrote Montcalm, "appears to be in a hurry to make his fortune before the colony is lost." Bigot and his friends kept the commis-

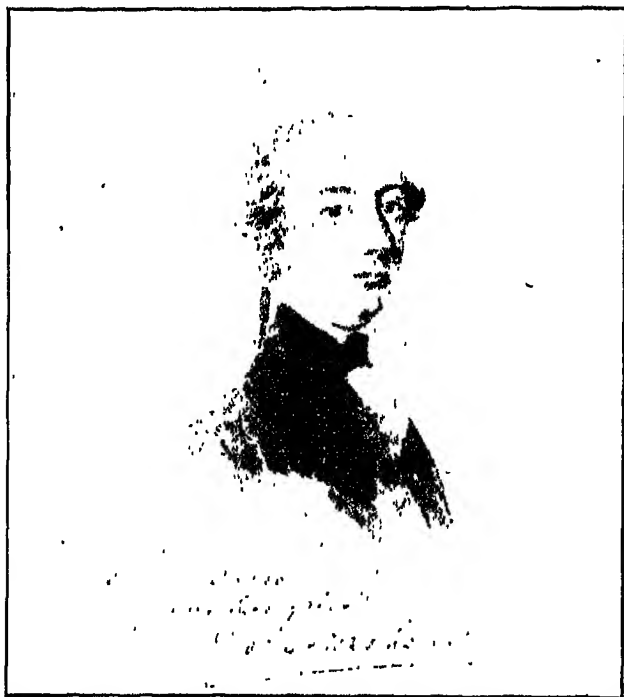
¹This view of Bigot is based on hitherto unpublished papers in the Public Archives of Canada.

sariat of the French army in Canada going, under very difficult conditions; and there was to the end no financial or economic collapse in the colony. But the prevailing corruption undermined the *morale* of the defence.

If conditions in New France were unfavourable to success, they were even less favourable in Old France. ^{Old world factors} Here the great days of Louis XIV had passed away. Under Louis XV the French navy was allowed to sink into comparative neglect, so that Canada's communications with the mother country became precarious; and the French government ceased to concern itself greatly with Canadian affairs. "When the house is on fire", said Louis XV, in his cynical way, "the master does not worry about the stables." Favouritism, rather than merit, determined appointments and promotions in the colony; and when the Duchess of Mortemart interested herself in the advancement of a brave French sailor named Vauquelin, she received from the king's minister the following reply:

Madame, I know quite well that M. Vauquelin has served the king marvellously well, and is a hero; but he is not a gentleman born, and I have to meet the demands of a great number of officers of high family. He was trained in the merchant service: let him return to it.

In England, on the other hand, William Pitt, the greatest war minister that Britain has ever had, was doing everything in his power to increase the strength of the British navy; and the promotions which Pitt made were determined, not by seniority or by social prestige, but solely by merit. James Wolfe, the officer to whom Pitt finally intrusted, in 1759, the task of capturing Quebec, was a young man of only thirty-two years of age without any particular family influence, in whom, with his eagle eye, Pitt had discerned a genius for warfare.



JAMES WOLFE

Drawn by one of his Brigadiers, the Hon. George Townshend

*The turn
of the tide*

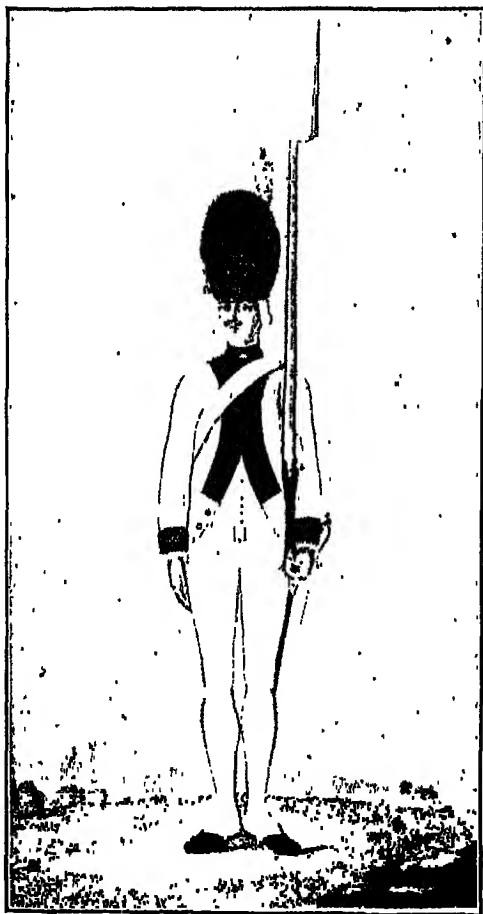
The turn of the tide came in 1758. In that year the British scored their first important success with the capture of the great fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The French commandant made a brave defence; but the British army and navy proved irresistible, and the fortress was compelled, after a siege of nearly two months, to lower its flag. This second capture of Louisbourg was important, because it gave the British

fleet command of the North Atlantic, and so made possible a combined military and naval attack on Quebec. It was notable, also, because it was here that Wolfe, though only a brigadier, first revealed to Pitt his qualities of courage and resource, leading his men ashore through the surf with only a walking-stick in his hand. Only a month after the capture of Louisbourg, another British victory was recorded. Colonel Bradstreet crossed Lake Ontario and captured Fort Frontenac, where the city of Kingston now stands. Finally, at the end of the year, a gallant Scottish officer, John Forbes, so ill that he had to be carried on a stretcher, captured Fort Duquesne, the name of which he changed, in honour of William Pitt, to "Pittsburgh"; and so the disgrace of Braddock's defeat was wiped out. These British successes greatly disheartened Montcalm. He had applied, after Ticonderoga, for leave to return to France; but with the clouds darkening he could not find it in his heart to desert the colony. Yet he had no illusions about the situation. "Can we hope for another miracle to save us?" he wrote to his wife. "God's will be done!"

The dawning of the year 1759 saw the British ready for the final campaign against Quebec. Quebec was not only the capital of, but the key to, New France; and with its capture the fate of the colony would be sealed. Passing over many senior officers, Pitt chose the youthful Wolfe to command the expedition; and in the spring of 1759 Wolfe set out from Louisbourg with a small but picked army of veterans, including several of Pitt's new Highland regiments, on board a fleet of warships and transports. With wonderful seamanship Admiral Saunders took the British flotilla up the St. Lawrence to the Quebec basin, and Wolfe's army was disembarked on the Island of Orleans, opposite the fortress in which

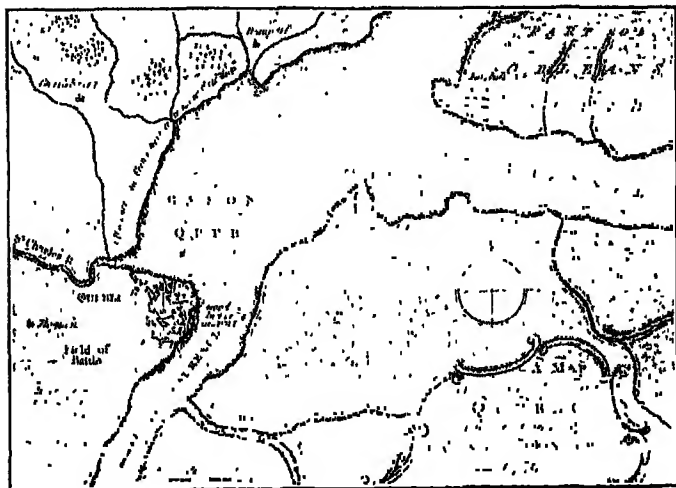
*The
expedition
against
Quebec*

Montcalm lay intrenched. But the task of capturing Quebec proved far from simple. Montcalm had gathered



UNIFORM OF A SOLDIER IN A FRENCH REGULAR REGIMENT
IN CANADA

there all his available forces, and he held the north shore of the river in such force that Wolfe was nowhere able to effect a landing. An attempt to gain a foothold on the Beauport shore, below Quebec, ended only in disaster. Wolfe, whose health was wretched, began to despair of being able to make any breach in Montcalm's line of defence. Autumn was already upon him when he hit at last upon a successful stratagem. He conceived the



MAP OF THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC IN 1759

idea of making, under cover of a false attack elsewhere, a landing by night at a cove—now known as Wolfe's Cove—a few miles above Quebec, where a sharp path led to the plains above. Arrangements were completed with such secrecy that until the last moment not even Wolfe's brigadiers knew what their orders were to be. The British army was taken upstream in the ships of the

fleet, and was then embarked in boats. These drifted silently down the river, under cover of the darkness, until they reached the cove which Wolfe's keen eyes had discerned. At the top of the path which led from the cove to the Plains of Abraham above was a small French picket. Only the day before, Montcalm, with that prescience which marks the great soldier, had ordered a regiment to take up its post at this spot; but his order had been countermanded by the officious Vaudreuil. The picket, commanded by an officer of known incompetence, fled at the first sound of alarm; and Wolfe's men scrambled up the cliff to the Plains above. When the morning of September 13, 1759, broke, Montcalm saw from the walls of Quebec Wolfe's army being drawn up in battle array to the west. "There they are", he exclaimed bitterly, "where they have no right to be."

*The Battle
of the
Plains*

Montcalm had two alternatives. He could either wait behind the walls of Quebec until both sides had brought up all their resources, or else he could attempt to crush the British before Wolfe could complete the landing of his forces. Like the brave man he was, he chose the latter course. At the head of his troops he sallied forth from the gates of Quebec, and advanced to the attack, the white-coated regulars of France in the centre, and the Indians and Canadians on the flank. As the French advanced, they fired irregularly; but in the "thin red line" of the British ranks no movement was visible, except when one man stepped up to fill the place of another. Not until only forty paces intervened between the two armies did the British line stir. Then a sharp command rang out, and two devastating volleys swept away the front of the French battle formation. The French officers tried to rally their men, but first the Canadians, and then the regulars, broke and fled,

pursued by Wolfe's Highlanders, claymore in hand, right to the walls of Quebec. Unfortunately, in the battle both Wolfe and Montcalm sustained mortal wounds. Wolfe died on the field, sinking back quietly when he heard that the enemy were on the run. Montcalm passed away early the next morning in Quebec, and was buried in a shell-hole in the convent of the



A CONTEMPORARY ILLUSTRATION OF THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS
OF ABRAHAM

Ursulines. A few days later Ramezay, the commandant of Quebec, acting in accordance with Montcalm's dying wishes, surrendered the citadel to the British.

But the capture of Quebec did not necessarily mean the capture of Canada. During the winter of 1759-60, the British, under the command of General Murray, one of Wolfe's brigadiers, remained unmolested in Quebec; but in the spring the Chevalier de Lévis,

*The fall
of New
France*

Montcalm's successor, advanced from Montreal, and, on April 28, defeated Murray in a battle at Ste. Foye outside the walls of Quebec. "From April battles and Murray generals", exclaimed one of the British officers, "Good Lord deliver me." But Lévis did not succeed in taking Quebec itself; and a few weeks later, when a British ship came sailing up the river on the opening of navigation, the French fell back sadly on Montreal. Here, later in the year, they found themselves hemmed in by superior British forces, and were compelled to capitulate with the honours of war. The conquest of New France was complete.

Sea-power

What determined the fate of Canada in the Seven Years' War was not the battle of the Plains of Abraham, or even the failure of Lévis to recapture Quebec in 1759. It was the sea-power of Great Britain. Wolfe's army was merely a landing-party on a large scale; and, so long as the British fleet succeeded in commanding the sea-lanes between Canada and the Old World, it was certain to gain its objective sooner or later. If the first ship which came up the St. Lawrence in 1760 had flown the flag of France, Wolfe's victory would have been of little avail. This does not alter the fact that the Battle of the Plains was a very gallant passage at arms between two soldiers of equal genius, but unequal fortune; but the truth is that, in the last analysis, Canada was won by the British navy.

*The régime
militaire*

For four years Canada was under the military rule of Murray and the British officers, who displayed toward the conquered French a sympathy and consideration which contrasts most favourably with the British treatment of the Acadians a few years earlier. In the districts of Three Rivers and Montreal the administration of justice was actually left in the hands of the French-

Canadian officers of militia. During these years the ultimate destiny of the colony remained undecided. But in 1763 the Seven Years' War was brought to a close by the Peace of Paris; and by the terms of this peace Canada was formally ceded to Great Britain. Arrangements were made for the transportation back to France of those colonists who did not wish to remain in Canada; but only between two and three thousand of the inhabitants of Canada, nearly all of whom were of the upper class, availed themselves of this opportunity, and the great majority of the Canadian people accepted British rule. By the same treaty Louisiana was handed over to Spain, and all that remained to France of her North American possessions were the two small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, left to her as a shelter for her fishing ships off the Banks of Newfoundland.

It was, however, not without a further struggle that the British were to enjoy possession of their new dominions. Hardly had the news of the Peace of Paris been published, when the Indians who had been allied with the French rose in one last struggle against the white invader. Under a war-chief of the Ottawas named Pontiac, the Algonquins, the Wyandots, and even some of the Iroquois joined in a war-league; and from Lake Superior to Virginia they attacked and overwhelmed the frontier posts, enacting frightful scenes of slaughter. Alone of the western posts, the little fort at Detroit, garrisoned by a small force under the gallant Major Gladwyn, held out. But after the first shock of attack, the British gradually recovered, and began to recapture the ground they had lost. After besieging Detroit for nearly a year, Pontiac was at last compelled to retreat from before its walls; and shortly afterwards he was forced to make peace. The "Conspiracy of Pontiac", as the outbreak was

The conspiracy of Pontiac

Camp before Quebec Sep. 13. 1759

Wrote Major

in London England.

Chief Officer of the pique to fight
... Sep. 13. 1759. So many of the

The general officers remaining
let it be, take the various oppor-
tunity to express the praise which
is due to the conduct & bravery of
the troops, and the victory which
attended it sufficiently proves the
superiority which this Army has over
any number of such troops as they
engaged yesterday. They wish
that the Baron, who lately commanded
them.

BRITISH GENERAL ORDERS AFTER THE BATTLE OF
THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

known, thus came to an end; and with its collapse the British gained undisputed possession of what had been New France. From the shores of Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico the Union Jack flew supreme.

For this section, see F. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1910) and William Wood, *The Fight for Canada* (London, 1905), and *The Passing of New France* (Toronto, 1914). There is no good life of Montcalm in English; but an excellent recent life of Wolfe is W. T. Waugh, *James Wolfe* (Montreal, 1928). Good historical novels dealing with the conquest of Canada are Sir G. Parker, *The Seats of the Mighty* (London, 1897), William Kirby, *The Golden Dog* (New York, 1877), and W. McLennan and J. Mellwraith, *The Span o' Life* (Toronto, 1899).

BOOK II: BRITISH NORTH AMERICA BEFORE FEDERATION

PART I: THE MAKING OF BRITISH CANADA

Regions Caesar never knew
Thy posterity shall sway.

—WILLIAM COWPER, *Boadicea*

For the Lord our God Most High
He hath made the deep as dry,
He hath smote for us a pathway to the ends of all the earth.

—RUDYARD KIPLING, *A Song of the English*

My kindred are not only those in whose veins
flows the blood that flows in my veins. My kindred
are all those, of whatever race or creed, who on this
continent live under the protection of the British
flag.

—SIR WILFRID LAURIER, *Speech at Toronto, 1880*

§ 1. THE CONQUERORS AND THE CONQUERED

*British
North
America
in 1763*

WHEN New France passed under British rule in 1763, there were in what is now the Dominion of Canada only a few English-speaking inhabitants. In Nova Scotia, Halifax had a population of nearly three thousand souls; and in other parts of the province there were perhaps ten thousand English-speaking inhabitants. But in the province of Quebec, as New France now came to be known, there were, apart from the official and military element, only three or four hundred English-speaking traders who had flocked into the country in the wake of the army. Compared with the French who remained in Canada, this element was a mere drop in the bucket. Nor, during the first years of British rule, did it greatly

increase. Few people in Great Britain, or even in the American colonies, had in 1763 any conception of the possibilities inherent in Canada. To them, as to the French philosopher, Voltaire, it was merely "a few acres of snow". Great Britain, in fact, had acquired the colony less on account of any intrinsic value it was thought to possess, than in order to remove from the English colonies to the south the menace of French aggression. There was actually, at the time of the Peace of Paris, a serious controversy as to whether Great Britain should hold out for Canada or for the island of Guadaloupe in the West Indies! Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that there was, after the British conquest, no mad rush of English-speaking settlers into the conquered colony.

This fact alone served to make the first half-century of British rule a critical period in Canadian history. Was Canada to become British, or was it to remain a French colony under the British flag? Or would it remain under the British flag at all? These questions were answered by a series of events between 1763 and 1815, which determined the future course of Canadian development, and which fashioned, indeed, the mould of the Dominion of Canada as we know it to-day. The first of these was the passage of the Quebec Act of 1774, which decided irrevocably the attitude which the Protestant Anglo-Saxon conquerors of Canada were to adopt toward the conquered Roman Catholic French. The second was the American Revolution, which defined roughly the boundaries of the future Dominion, which gave Canada for the first time a considerable English-speaking population, and which thus made possible the predominantly British character of Canada to-day. The third was the French Revolution, which severed the

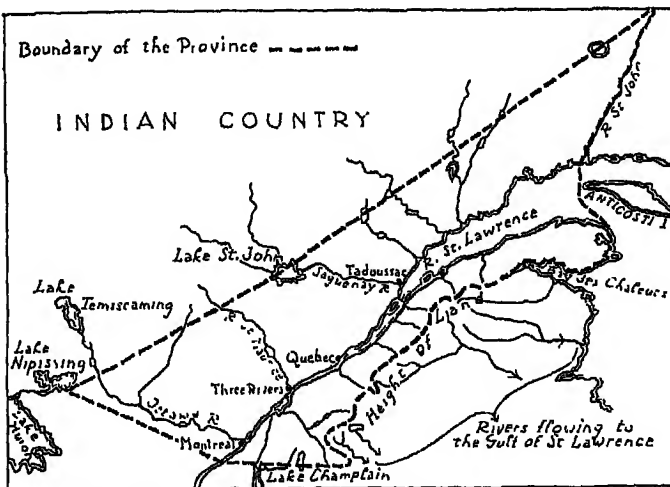
*A critical
period of
Canadian
history*

spiritual ties that bound the French Canadians to France, and reconciled them to British government; and the fourth was the War of 1812, which ended the last chance of the inclusion of Canada in the Great Republic, and made possible in the northern half of the North American continent a second experiment in democracy, within, and not without, the circle of the British Empire. Lastly, during this period the exploration of the North-West by the fur traders from Montreal and from Hudson Bay, culminating in the final success of the long-continued search for the Western Sea, paved the way for the inclusion of the Great West in the Dominion of Canada. In many ways the first half-century of British rule thus determined the form and character of Canada to-day.

*The Royal
Proclamation
of 1763*

The first question which pressed for solution was that of the relations between the conquerors and the conquered. Were the triumphant British to adopt toward the French a policy of repression or one of conciliation? Was an attempt to be made to anglicize and proselytize the Roman Catholic French Canadians, or were they to be allowed to retain their language, their laws, and their religion? At first the scales tipped toward the policy of repression. The Royal Proclamation of 1763, which introduced civil government into the conquered province, operated in effect, whatever may have been the intention of those who framed it, to abolish the old French laws, and to give the colony, with Anglo-Saxon self-complacency, "the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of Our realm of England". The royal instructions issued to General Murray, who was appointed first civil governor of the province, required him to model the courts of justice on those of Nova Scotia; he was to admit of no "ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the See of Rome"; and he

was to give all possible encouragement to the erection of Protestant schools and churches, "to the end that the Church of England may be established both in principles and practice, and that the said inhabitants may by degrees be induced to embrace the Protestant religion". Thus, without any drastic Acadian expulsion, but by a process of denationalization, Canada was apparently to



BOUNDARIES OF CANADA UNDER THE PROCLAMATION OF 1763

be transformed into an English Protestant colony, a newer New England.

But opposition to this policy manifested itself from the outset. As soon as he learned the tenor of the Royal Proclamation, Lord Mansfield, the lord chief-justice of the king's bench in England, wrote to George Grenville, the prime minister, deploring in the strongest terms the policy embodied in it. "The history of the world", he wrote, "don't furnish an instance of so rash and unjust an act by any conqueror whatsoever." The ministers

*Opposition
to the
policy of
the Pro-
clamation*

themselves, in 1764, hastened to amend the Proclamation, so as to make it clear that the French Canadians were not to be deprived of "the benefit of their own laws and customs" in regard to land tenure. In the colony most of the chief officers of government, with a unanimity truly remarkable, threw the weight of their influence into the scale in favour of a thorough-going policy of conciliation. Murray described the French Canadians as "perhaps the best and bravest race upon the globe", and urged that they should be granted privileges which the laws of England at that time denied to Roman Catholics in the British Isles. If the penal laws against Roman Catholics were to be enforced in Canada, he asked that his resignation should be accepted. Sir Guy Carleton, who succeeded him in the government in 1766, took similar views. The abolition of the French laws he characterized as "a sort of severity, if I remember right, never before practised by any conqueror". He believed that Canada would never be anything but a French province of Great Britain. "Barring a catastrophe shocking to think of," he wrote, "this country must to the end of time be peopled by the Canadian [that is, French-Canadian] race." He urged, therefore, that the French Canadians should be attached to the British crown by means of every possible concession. He went, indeed, so far as to advocate the inclusion of French-Canadian seigneurs in the governor's council and their admission to commissions in the army.

*Inroads on
this policy*

The result of this opposition was the gradual abandonment of the policy of 1763. By 1766 French-Canadian jurors were permitted to sit, and French-Canadian lawyers to plead, in any court in the colony; and at the same time, thanks largely to the efforts of General Murray, an important concession was made to the Roman Catho-

lic Church in the colony. The last French bishop of Quebec had died shortly after the conquest; and the attitude of the British government was such that no successor had been selected. Now Murray succeeded in persuading the British authorities to give an informal permission for the consecration of a bishop; and in the summer of 1766 Mgr. Briand was consecrated in France bishop of Quebec.

By one party in Canada these inroads on the policy of 1763 were viewed with alarm and disgust. This was the English mercantile, as distinct from the military and official, element in the colony. These people had settled in Canada on the strength of the promise made in the Royal Proclamation that English laws and institutions would prevail there; and they demanded, not unreasonably, that the British government should not break faith with them. From an early date, it was a grievance with them that the governor, though authorized to do so by the Royal Proclamation, had not called an assembly similar to those found in the English colonies to the south; and when they saw a piecemeal encroachment on other features of the Proclamation, their indignation knew no bounds. In 1764 they organized for the defence of their rights; and two years later they succeeded, through their powerful London business connections, in obtaining General Murray's recall. Murray was a hot-headed and free-spoken soldier, whose temper was not improved by the fact that he carried about in his body several bullets from battlefields in Europe and America; and his enemies had no difficulty in pressing home against him charges of "a rage and rudeness of language and demeanour", as well as such other charges as "almost a total neglect of attendance on the service of the Church". But their real hostility to him was due to his

*The English
mercantile
element*

policy. The recall of Murray, however, brought no relief. Sir Guy Carleton, who came out to Canada in 1766 as lieutenant-governor, and who succeeded Murray as governor in 1768, proved no more sympathetic toward the English merchants than his predecessor. When some of the merchants came to him to inquire if he had any objections to receiving a petition for the calling of an assembly, he told them he "had many objections"; and when he was asked when he thought the state of the colony would permit the calling of an assembly, he answered bluntly, "In one word, never!"

*The struggle
over the
policy of the
Proclama-
tion*

The first ten years of British rule in Canada thus saw a bitter struggle between the various elements in the colony. On the one side ranged the British official element, with the French seigneurs, clergy, and upper classes; on the other stood the British mercantile element; and in the middle stood the habitants, ignorant of the issues at stake, but ready to benefit in a practical way from the struggle should opportunity arise. There were at least three major questions on which battle was joined—the questions of the assembly, the laws, and the status of the Roman Catholic Church. On all of these the cleavage was sharp and decisive. The governor and the official class were opposed to the calling of an assembly, because they distrusted democratic tendencies, such as were already causing trouble in the English colonies to the south; and in any case it did not seem to them feasible to give representation in such an assembly only to the few hundred English-speaking inhabitants of the province, who were alone, under English law, eligible for election, or possibly even for voting. On the other hand, the English mercantile element regarded representation in an assembly as the inalienable right of Englishmen. On the question of the laws, the official

element, as well as the French-Canadian upper classes, preferred the continuance of at least the French civil law; whereas the mercantile element regarded it as a scandal that they should be compelled to do business under the archaic provisions of the old French commercial law. Similarly, in regard to the status of the Roman Catholic Church, the official element was anxious to conciliate the French upper classes and the clergy by making what concessions were possible; whereas the merchants, Protestant almost to a man, were filled with the "No Popery" ideas then prevalent both in England and in New England.

In the end, despite every effort which the English merchants were able to put forth, the influence of Carleton carried the day. In 1774 the British parliament passed the Quebec Act, which superseded the Royal Proclamation as the constitution of Quebec; and in this Act the views of Carleton were adopted. The demand for an assembly was rejected; there was continued in the province the arbitrary government by a governor and a nominated Council to which the French were accustomed, and which had been set up by the Royal Proclamation—with this difference, that French-Canadian Roman Catholics were now eligible for appointment to the Council. The English criminal law was introduced into Canada, since this was more humane than the French criminal law; but the French civil law, the *coutume de Paris*, was continued entire, and is to this day the basis of the civil law of the province of Quebec. The greatest concessions, however, were made to the Roman Catholic Church in the colony. Not only were Roman Catholics in Canada relieved of practically all the disabilities under which Roman Catholics in Great Britain

The Quebec Act

still laboured, so that French-Canadian Roman Catholics were actually enabled to hold public office; but the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec was empowered by law to collect the tithes from the habitants as it had been accustomed to do in the days of the French régime. This placed the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec in the position, if not of an established church, at least of an endowed church. The only concession made to the



BOUNDARIES OF CANADA UNDER THE QUEBEC ACT

English merchants in Quebec was the extension of the boundaries of the province so as to include what was known as the Old North-West—which included, not only the present province of Ontario, but also the territories which were afterwards known as the states of Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Minnesota. This gave to Canadian merchants engaged in the fur trade a decided advantage over fur traders in the English colonies to the south.

*The wisdom
of the
Quebec Act*

About the wisdom of the Quebec Act there have always been two opinions. The view has been advanced that,

by its concessions to the laws and religion of the French Canadians, it consolidated French-Canadian nationality, and so gave rise to the "French-Canadian problem" of to-day. Those who maintain this view point to the example of Louisiana, where a less conciliatory attitude toward the French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi has resulted in the virtual disappearance there of the French language, laws, and institutions. Had a similar policy been adopted in Canada, it is argued, there might not have been in the Dominion to-day a solid French Canada, with all the problems to which it has given rise. On the other hand, those who believe in the wisdom of the Quebec Act argue that, had it not been for the concessions which the Act made to the French-Canadian people, and especially to the French-Canadian Roman Catholic Church, Canada might at the time of the American Revolution have ceased to be British. Certain it is that the privileges granted by the Quebec Act to the Roman Catholic Church have ensured at several critical periods the support of that Church for British supremacy in Canada. When the French government joined hands with the American revolutionists in 1778, when Napoleon's emissaries came to Canada during the Napoleonic Wars, when the Americans invaded Canada during the War of 1812, and when the rebellion of 1837 broke out in Upper and Lower Canada, the French-Canadian Church threw its weight into the balance in favour of the British Crown; and this was largely owing to the generous treatment accorded the Church of French Canada in the Quebec Act of 1774. Especially since the French Revolution, with its radical and anti-clerical tendencies, severed the tie of sympathy between the French of France and the French of Canada, the Quebec Act has been a guarantee of the loyalty of the

French-Canadian Church and people to the British connection. The history of racial minorities all over the world suggests that a policy of repression and denationalization is likely to defeat its own ends; and from this point of view the Quebec Act appears to have been a wise and just measure.

*Motives
and results*

At the same time, it must be confessed that Carleton and the British government, in framing the terms of the Quebec Act, builded better than they knew. Carleton was a soldier, and looked on the problems of Canadian government with a soldier's eye. While the Quebec Act was being drafted, the American Revolution was breaking out. In his desire to conciliate the French inhabitants of Canada, Carleton was partly actuated by the hope that Canada might be secured as a safe base from which operations might be undertaken against the rebellious English colonists to the south; and he actually contemplated the raising of French-Canadian regiments to be employed against them. The British government at that time was that of Lord North, which was chiefly responsible for the measures that brought the American colonists to a state of revolt. It was not a government likely to adopt toward alien subjects liberal measures which it was not willing to adopt toward colonists of its own race and faith. In formulating the Quebec Act, it was undoubtedly actuated by motives similar to those of Carleton; and there is reason to believe that its annexation of the Old North-West—the natural hinterland of the English colonies—to Canada was designed as a threat to the turbulent colonists of New England and New York. So, at least, it was interpreted by them; and in this way the Quebec Act proved a contributory cause of the American Revolution. But whatever the motives of those who framed the Act, it proved a

"charter of liberties" for the French-Canadian people, and irrevocably placed the "two races" in Canada on an equal footing.

An interesting account of the first years of British rule in Canada is to be found in A. G. Bradley, *The Making of Canada* (London 1908), and Sir Charles Lucas, *History of Canada, 1763-1815* (Oxford, 1909). For Carleton's life see William Wood, *The Father of British Canada* (Toronto, 1914). The most recent discussions of the Quebec Act are to be found in R. Coupland, *The Quebec Act* (Oxford, 1927) and C. Martin, *Empire or Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1929).

§ 2. THE COMING OF THE LOYALISTS

THE Quebec Act had hardly been placed on the statute book when there broke out in the English colonies to the south of Canada the American Revolution. The causes of this unhappy event, which drove a wedge between the two great branches of the English-speaking race, are too complex to be explained in detail here. There had sprung up between the English-speaking peoples of the Old and the New World differences in political ideas, in economic interests, and in social outlook. These alone need not have caused the break which occurred; but events conspired to give them importance. The conquest of Canada by the British in 1763 had, in particular, far-reaching results. "Colonies", said the French economist Turgot, "are like fruits, which cling to the tree only until they ripen;" and he had prophesied that "as soon as America can take care of herself, she will do what Carthage did"—that is, declare her independence of the mother country. So long as France was entrenched in Canada and French raiding parties were liable to descend upon the valleys of New England, the American colonies needed the help of the mother country, help generously vouchsafed during the Seven

The American Revolution

Years' War; but once the menace of the French was removed, they became able to look after themselves. The cost of the Seven Years' War in America, moreover, was a heavy burden on the British tax-payer. In order to pass on to the colonists at least a part of the cost of colonial defence, the British government decided to impose taxes on the American colonies. First, in 1765, it attempted to levy a stamp tax on legal documents in the colonies; and when this tax was withdrawn because of the opposition it aroused, an attempt was made in 1767 to impose an import duty on tea, paper, glass, and several other "enumerated articles" entering colonial ports. In the end only the tax on tea was retained, more for the sake of asserting the right of the British parliament to tax the colonies than for any other reason. But this was precisely the right which the American colonies were not ready to admit. The cry of "No taxation without representation" was raised; and in the autumn of 1773 a party of Boston citizens, disguised as Indians, boarded some tea-ships of the East India Company which had entered Boston Harbour, and threw their cargo into the sea. This lawless act speedily brought matters to a crisis. The British government closed Boston Harbour, and even suspended the constitution of Massachusetts. Such drastic measures the high-spirited people of the American colonies were not likely to accept without a struggle.

*The
Declaration
of In-
dependence*

Hitherto the thirteen American colonies had been without connection one with another. Now they resolved to unite. In September, 1774, there met in Philadelphia a congress of delegates from the various colonies. This "Continental Congress", as it was called, met to consider means whereby the British parliament might be forced to withdraw its claims. There was as yet no general desire for independence; all the Congress did was to

threaten the boycott of British goods in America. But the British government refused to be intimidated; and a conflict became inevitable. "The die is cast", wrote George III, the honest and well-meaning, but stubborn and narrow-minded king of England; "the colonies must either triumph or submit." Almost immediately hostilities broke out. In the spring of 1775 a column of British soldiers dispatched from Boston to seize an arsenal of firearms collected at Concord, Massachusetts, came into conflict with the "embattled farmers" of the country side of Lexington, and was almost annihilated. In June the rebels surrounded Boston and seized the neighbouring Bunker's Hill, a commanding height from which they were driven by the British garrison only with the greatest difficulty. By this time it was clear that the issue was to be decided only by the sword; and the Continental Congress proceeded to pass a Declaration of Independence, and to organize an army, the command of which was intrusted to George Washington, the Virginian officer who had been associated with Braddock in the expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1754.

In the struggle which ensued the Americans devoted their energies at first to trying to win over Canada to the Revolutionary cause. In the autumn of 1774 the first Continental Congress addressed to the French Canadians an appeal for assistance in their struggle against the British government, in which they paid the most fulsome compliments to the "gallant and glorious resistance" which the people of New France had made to their conquerors, and in which an attempt was made to belittle the concessions made to the French Canadians in the Quebec Act. "What is offered to you by the late Act of Parliament? Liberty of conscience in your religion? No. God gave it to you." Unfortunately, the

*Canada
and the
Revolution*

Congress had published, only five days before, an "Address to the People of Great Britain", in which objection had been taken to the concessions made by the Quebec Act to "a religion that has deluged your island in blood". The insincerity of their appeal to the French Canadians was thus so apparent that it had little effect; and in 1775 the Congress decided, therefore, to invade Canada, in order to drive out the slender British garrison. The task of capturing Canada was assigned to two separate forces. One of these, under Colonel Benedict Arnold, who afterwards deserted the American cause, struck up through the wilds of Maine by way of the Kennebec River, and descended by way of the Chaudière River to the St. Lawrence opposite Quebec—a march through almost impassable country hardly paralleled in military history. The other, under General Richard Montgomery, a former officer in the British army, pushed up the valley of the Richelieu and occupied Montreal. Here they all but captured Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of Canada, who succeeded in reaching Quebec only after one or two hairbreadth escapes. Before Quebec Montgomery and Arnold joined forces; and on New Year's Eve, 1775, the Americans launched against Quebec a night assault. Carleton had only a handful of troops to defend the town; but these were on the alert, and the attack was repelled. Montgomery was killed, Arnold was wounded, and the siege of Quebec degenerated into a wearisome blockade. When the arrival of spring brought to Carleton welcome reinforcements, the besiegers beat a hasty retreat; and the end of 1776 saw Canada virtually free of the invaders. So ended what has been called "the struggle for the fourteenth colony".

*Later stages
of the
Revolution*

In the later stages of the Revolutionary War the Americans had better success. In 1777 a British army

under General Burgoyne, which had pushed south from Canada into northern New York, was defeated by the revolutionists and forced to surrender at Saratoga. France, which had been anxious to avenge her defeat in the Seven Years' War, but had been loath to assist rebels against their king, was encouraged by the fact that in 1776 the Continental Congress had declared independence, and in 1778 she joined hands with the Americans. Gradually Washington, with the aid of the French, wore the British down; and finally, on October 18, 1781, Lord Cornwallis, the British commander-in-chief, was trapped and forced to surrender with his entire army at Yorktown in Virginia. Canada, so far as the St. Lawrence valley was concerned, remained unmolested after 1776; but in the Illinois country, which had been annexed to Quebec by the Quebec Act, an American force under George Rogers Clark carried out a frontier campaign, which resulted in driving the British back to the walls of Detroit and in wresting from Canada the "Old North-West". By 1782 the British government, and even the stubborn George III, had been brought to accept the inevitable; and by the Peace of Versailles in 1783 the independence was recognized of the thirteen colonies which were later to constitute the original United States of America.

In their desire for independence, however, the people of the thirteen colonies had been far from unanimous. It has been estimated that fully one-third of them, if not more, were opposed to the Declaration of Independence. There are historians, indeed, who have maintained that the revolutionists were an organized and energetic minority who imposed their will on an unorganized and uncertain majority. Of the Loyalists or "Tories", as they were called, many enlisted in the

*The
Loyalists
in the
Revolution*

British forces; and some of the British regiments which played a most effective part in the revolutionary war—such as Sir John Johnson's "Royal Greens", Butler's Rangers, Roger's Rangers, and the Royal Highland Emigrants—were recruited wholly from the Loyalists. At one time it was estimated that there were more Loyalists fighting on the British side than there were soldiers in the whole of Washington's armies, which were always "moulting". As was to be expected, the Loyalists were heartily detested by the Revolutionists. After the Declaration of Independence in 1776, they were regarded as traitors and were treated as such. In many of the colonies their property was confiscated, they were fined and heavily taxed, large numbers of them were imprisoned, others were banished, and several were put to death. A favourite method of dealing with them consisted in "tarring and feathering": the unfortunate victim was stripped of his clothes, was smeared with a coat of tar and feathers, and was thus driven through the streets in a cart for the amusement of the public. Not only the Loyalists, but even their families, were subjected to the most inhuman persecution. The Loyalists, on their side, were not slow in retaliating when opportunity arose. In 1778, for instance, Butler's Rangers, with a party of Indians, carried fire and sword through the settlements in the valley of Wyoming, between Connecticut and Pennsylvania—an incident commemorated by the poet Thomas Campbell in his verses entitled *Gertrude of Wyoming*:

On Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming!
Although the wild-flower on thy ruined wall
And roofless homes a sad remembrance bring
Of what thy gentle people did befall.

In the same year a party of Loyalists and Indians,

under Walter Butler, made an inroad on Cherry Valley in New York; and on this occasion the Indians got out of control, and slaughtered and scalped over fifty defenceless old men, women, and children. These episodes greatly embittered the feeling between the Revolutionists and the Loyalists; and when the war closed with the triumph of the Revolutionists, the condition of the Loyalists became pitiful. Even the wise and moderate Washington said that "he could see nothing better for them than to commit suicide".

In the Treaty of Versailles, the British government did what it could to protect the interests of the Loyalists. *The Treaty of Versailles* It was agreed that they should meet with no impediment to the recovery of their lawful debts, and that they should suffer no future loss or damage for any part they had taken in the war. The American commissioners promised also that Congress would "earnestly recommend" to the legislatures of the various states the restitution of confiscated Loyalist property. But these promises were worthless. The Revolution had been partly financed by the confiscation of Loyalist property; and no state either would or could restore to the owners the property they had lost. In the prevailing mood of public opinion, it was not possible to guarantee the Loyalists even freedom from persecution. Some of them did, it is true, return to their homes; but tens of thousands found themselves driven from the place of their birth, penniless and destitute.

Under these circumstances the British government came—as it was in honour bound to do—to the relief of the Loyalists. *Influx of the Loyalists into Canada* It appointed a royal commission to investigate the losses sustained by them, and, on the recommendation of this commission, millions of pounds were paid out in compensation. It granted half-pay to

Loyalist officers, after their regiments were disbanded; and it arranged for the transportation of all those who wished to leave the revolted colonies. To those who desired to begin life afresh in the New World it offered a wide choice of lands in what are now the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, and Ontario. Of this offer, of course, not all the Loyalists availed themselves. Many among the upper classes went to England; a considerable number of families settled in the West Indies; and a large number accepted the situation, and became, later, citizens of the new United States. But within the boundaries of what is to-day the Dominion of Canada, there settled probably upwards of fifty thousand Loyalists, or more than half as many English-speaking persons as there were French-speaking inhabitants of the province of Quebec. Of these the great majority, probably over thirty-five thousand, settled in the Maritime provinces; and the remainder established themselves in Quebec and Montreal, or in what later became Upper Canada or Ontario.

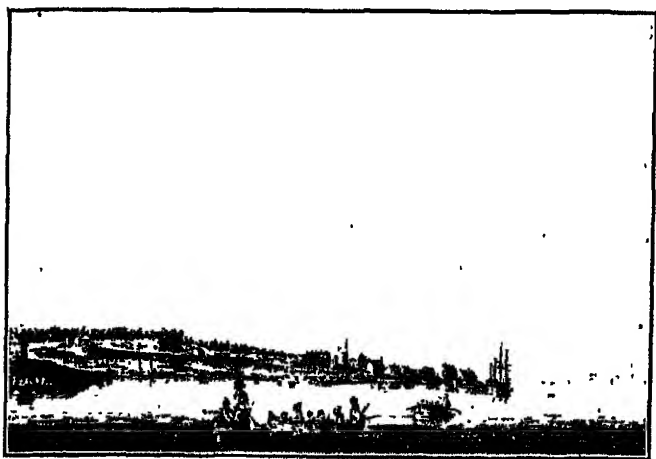
*The
migration
to Nova
Scotia*

The Loyalist settlement of the Maritime provinces and Ontario was one of the most touching episodes of modern history. The migration to Nova Scotia began with the British evacuation of Boston in 1776. At that time about a thousand Boston Loyalists accompanied the British troops to Halifax. "Neither Hell, Hull, nor Halifax", said one of them "can afford worse shelter than Boston." It was not, however, until the close of the war that the great influx took place. The British began to evacuate New York in the spring of 1783; and between April and November a fleet of British transports was busy conveying from New York to Nova Scotia all those who wanted the protection of the British flag. In all,

at least thirty thousand Loyalists were transported to the land of the Acadians. Of these, many belonged to the upper classes of the American colonies before the Revolution. Not a few were graduates of Harvard and Yale Colleges; and some belonged to families famous in early American history. Very few had saved anything out of the wreck of their fortunes; and all had to start life afresh in their new home under conditions that were both difficult and unfamiliar. Those who were landed at the mouth of the River St. John, and formed the first settlement in what became the province of New Brunswick, were disembarked on a wild and primeval shore, where they had to clear away the undergrowth before they could pitch their tents or build their shelters. "Nothing but wilderness before our eyes! The women and children did not refrain from tears," wrote one of the exiles; and the mother of one family—who was destined to become the grandmother of one of the Fathers of Confederation, Sir Leonard Tilley—used to tell her descendants, "Such a feeling of loneliness came over me that, although I had not shed a tear through all the war, I sat down on the damp moss, with my baby in my lap, and cried". There were those whose hearts failed them; and one Loyalist, franker perhaps than the rest, wrote bitterly, "I have made one great mistake in politics in my life, for which reason I intend not to make another". But the majority of the Loyalists were of sterling stock; and they attacked the problem of carving homes for themselves out of the wilderness with such courage and vigour that in a few years those parts of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island settled by them presented the appearance of flourishing communities.

*The
Loyalists
in Upper
Canada*

The Loyalist settlers in Upper Canada were fewer in number. They were composed mainly of the officers and men of disbanded Loyalist regiments, and numbered, with their families, not more than five thousand in all. They were first gathered in concentration camps at Sorel and Yamachiche on the St. Lawrence; and then, in the spring of 1784, Sir Frederick Haldimand, the Swiss soldier of fortune who was at that time governor of Canada, had them transported up the St. Lawrence in open boats, and placed on the land in newly-surveyed townships on the north shore of the river above Montreal, and on the shores of the Bay of Quinté. As a rule, those who had belonged to the same regiments were "located"



CATARAQUI (KINGSTON) IN 1783

Drawn by Lieut. Peachey

together; and this explains, for instance, how the county of Glengarry was settled by Scottish Highlanders who had fought in Sir John Johnson's "Royal Greens" or in

the Royal Highland Emigrants. The settlers usually drew lots for their lands, and then settled down to wrest a livelihood from virgin nature. For the first few years they had a severe struggle for existence. They were so destitute that for three years the British government had to supply them with food and clothes, and with seed wheat and implements. Very few families had the luxury of a cow, and even horses were at first few and far between. When government assistance was cut off, famine stalked through the "western settlements". The year 1788 was known as "the hungry year"; and there are traditions that some of the settlers actually died of starvation. But here, too, the high qualities of the Loyalists triumphed over difficulties. By 1791 not only the "western settlements" along the St. Lawrence and on the Bay of Quinté, but also Loyalist colonies at Niagara and at Detroit, had taken root and grown to such an extent that they were deemed by the British government of sufficient importance to be erected into the province of Upper Canada.

The Loyalist migration to Canada is described in W. S. Wallace, *The United Empire Loyalists* (Toronto, 1914).

§ 3. "BRITISH LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS"

THE Loyalists were known by their opponents in the American Revolution as "Tories"; but they were not Tories in the true sense of the word. They had been accustomed in the American colonies, and especially in New England, to an advanced type of democratic government, with representative assemblies, elective town councils, and even, in one or two instances, elective governors. They had remained loyal to the Crown; but that did not prevent them having an Englishman's—and indeed more than an eighteenth-century Englishman's

*Political
ideas of the
Loyalists*

—love of self-government. Those Loyalists who settled in Nova Scotia found representative institutions already established there, a house of representatives having been a feature of the constitution of Nova Scotia since 1758, the year before Wolfe captured Quebec; and when the Loyalist province of New Brunswick was created in 1784, it was given from the first a representative assembly. But those Loyalists who went to what later became Upper and Lower Canada found themselves under the arbitrary government of the Quebec Act. Even those who settled in what became Upper Canada found themselves not only deprived of the boon of representative government, but actually compelled to live under the French civil law, without those cherished prerogatives of Englishmen, trial by jury and *Habeas Corpus*. At this they were naturally aghast. Soon after they had settled their lands, they began to forward petitions and memorials to the government, praying that they "might be governed by the British Constitution and Laws, for the support of which and His Majesty's Crown and Dignity we first took up arms in opposition to the American Congress".

*Demands
of the
Loyalists*

Where it had been possible to ignore the demands of the small English element in the colony before 1774, it was not possible to dismiss the requests of thousands of Loyalists who had lost everything because of their allegiance to the British throne. Before 1774 Sir Guy Carleton had believed that Canada had no future save as a French colony of Great Britain; when he returned to Canada, after the American Revolution, for a second term of office as governor of Canada with the title of Lord Dorchester, he was forced to recognize that the situation had changed. At first he attempted to meet the demands of the Loyalists by dividing the "western

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settlements" in 1788 into four districts—to which were given, out of compliment to the Hanoverian king of Great Britain, the Teutonic designations of Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Nassau, and Hesse, and later the more appropriate names of Eastern, Midland, Home, and Western—and in these districts a sort of county organization was set up. But this arrangement failed to satisfy the demands of the Loyalists; and Dorchester was forced, within a year or two, to acquiesce in the proposal of the British government that Canada should be divided into two provinces, one of which should be predominantly French and the other English. In both it was proposed to establish representative institutions, since it did not seem proper to withhold from one province what was granted to the other.

These proposals were embodied in the Quebec Government Bill, which passed the British parliament and became law in 1791, and which has since been known as the "Constitutional Act". In the true sense of the word, this Act was neither more nor less "constitutional" than the Quebec Act of 1774, or the British North America Act of 1867; but the term was applied to it because it granted to the Canadas what was at that time commonly known as a "constitution"—that is, a form of government in which the people had a voice. The Act made provision for the creation of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, divided roughly by the Ottawa River. Over the two provinces was to be a governor-general, while in each province there was to be a lieutenant-governor representing the Crown. Actually, owing to the difficulty of communication, the authority of the governor-general came to be confined chiefly to Lower Canada, where the lieutenant-governor came to be merely a deputy who acted for the governor-general

The Constitutional Act

when he was absent from Quebec; while the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada came to be virtually independent in his western jurisdiction. In each province there was to be an Executive Council appointed by the Crown,¹ and a legislature composed of two houses—a Legislative Council, or second chamber, nominated by the Crown, and a Legislative Assembly elected by the people. It was proposed by the Act that there should be attached to the right of sitting in the Legislative Council "hereditary titles of honour, rank, or dignity", so that this House should become a sort of colonial House of Lords; but this feature of the Act was vigorously attacked and never became operative. "Are those red and blue ribbons which have lost their lustre in the Old World", asked Charles James Fox in the House of Commons, "to flash forth again in the New?" In the Executive and Legislative Councils and in the Legislative Assembly, the French-Canadian Roman Catholics were to have the right of sitting; for in this, as in other respects, the privileges granted by the Quebec Act to the French Canadians were not repealed by the Constitutional Act. The province of Upper Canada, indeed, started on its career under the provisions of the old French civil law; and one of the first things the legislature of Upper Canada had to do was to replace it with the common law of England.

*The French
Canadians
and repre-
sentation*

Thus the period of arbitrary government in Canada came to an end, and representative institutions were introduced. It was of course recognized, that among the French Canadians, who had never enjoyed any sort of representative institutions before, their introduction was an experiment; and at first some of the French

¹There was no mention of the Executive Council in the Act itself; but it was provided for in the Royal Instructions to the Governor.

objected to the idea of an elected assembly. "It is", said they, "an English device for taxing us." But, when once representative institutions were established amongst them, they took to them with remarkable aptitude; and it was not long before some of the French-Canadian representatives in the Assembly were able to read lessons in British constitutional law to the governor and his council. In time the British tradition of self-government came to be, among the French Canadians, as cherished a part of their heritage as were those privileges guaranteed to them by the Quebec Act.

An event which greatly strengthened the attachment of the French Canadians to British institutions was the French Revolution, which broke out just at the time the Constitutional Act was being framed. One of the most striking features of the French Revolution was its anti-clericalism. This found no echo among the French Canadians, who now as always were faithful sons of the Church. Far from exerting an influence in Canada, the French Revolution created a chasm between the French of the New and Old France; and French Canadians were thus forced to draw their inspiration mainly from the principles of English liberalism rather than from those of French radicalism. This fact did much to ensure the loyalty of the French Canadians to the British Crown; and it was a significant fact that in 1805 a *Te Deum* was actually sung in the French-Canadian Roman Catholic cathedral at Quebec to celebrate the victory of Nelson over the French at Trafalgar.

The French Revolution

Discussions of the Constitutional Act are to be found in W. P. M. Kennedy, *The Constitution of Canada* (Toronto, 1922), in J. Holland Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival* (London, 1911), and in A. Shortt, *Lord Sydenham* (Toronto, 1908).

§ 4. THE WAR OF 1812

*Causes of
the War
of 1812*

JUST half a century after Canada passed under the British flag, another crisis occurred in Canadian history, which threatened the very continuance of that flag on Canadian soil. This was the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States. The causes of this war had little to do with Canada. It is true that, for many years after the American Revolution, the relations between Canada and the United States had been strained. The failure of the Americans to fulfil their treaty obligations toward the Loyalists had impelled the British government to defer handing over to the Americans the "western lake posts" of Michilimackinac, Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego; and this had been a source of friction. The Americans, moreover, had suspected the British of stirring up against them the Indians of the "Old North-West", who had grown restive because of American encroachments on their hunting-grounds. But in 1794 the American general, "Mad Anthony Wayne", had defeated the western Indians; in 1796 the British had handed over to the Americans the "western posts", and the tension had been relieved.

The War of 1812 had its ostensible origin in questions connected with the Napoleonic struggle in Europe. During the course of this struggle, the British navy found it necessary to search repeatedly neutral vessels on the high seas, and among these, vessels flying the Stars and Stripes. Sometimes on these vessels were found British subjects, and even American citizens, who were forcibly impressed for service in the British navy. The American people were deeply incensed at these rather high-handed, though perhaps necessary, actions of the British navy; and in 1812 the government of the United States

declared war on Great Britain. But it is by no means certain that the ostensible reasons for the war were the real reasons. The New England states, which were the most vitally affected by the actions of the British navy, were on the whole opposed to war; and the chief demand for war came from the southern and western states, where a strong and very vocal party, known as the "war hawks", thought that the time was opportune to invade and occupy Canada.

Canada was, naturally, when war broke out, the chief target of the American attack; and she bore the brunt of the war. There were in the whole of Canada at that time fewer than 5,000 British regular soldiers; and the population was still so small that it was actually inferior in numbers to the military forces of the American invaders. Had the American people been united in prosecuting the war, the result would have been, without doubt, the conquest of Canada. But, fortunately for the Canadians, the United States was so divided and lukewarm in its attitude toward the war that the striking-power of the American forces was paralysed. Added to this was the fact that Canada, still largely a wilderness, was so lacking in roads that an invading force was at a hopeless disadvantage, and the further fact that this wilderness was inhabited partly by the exiles of the American Revolution—people passionately devoted to the British connection, bitterly antagonistic to the United States, and determined to defend their independence to the last ditch.

The actual details of the war, comprising as it did what was merely, according to present-day standards, a series of skirmishes, are of little importance even to the military historian. But the war itself, with its many episodes of gallantry and heroism illustrating the deter-

*Canada and
the war*

*Details of
the war*

mination of Canadians to be free, has exerted a powerful influence on feeling and opinion in Canada since that time; and for this reason some at least of the details of the war deserve to be described.

*The
campaign
of 1812*

In the campaign of 1812 the honours of war went to the Canadians. Early in July, 1812, an American force under General Hull opened hostilities by invading the western part of Upper Canada. With an army of about 2,000 men, Hull crossed from Detroit to Sandwich, and



BATTLEFIELDS OF THE WAR OF 1812-14

threatened to outflank the British forces in Upper Canada. The administrator of Upper Canada at this time and the commander of the forces in the province was General Isaac Brock, a British officer of the best type, with a bold and daring genius for war. He realized that only by a vigorous offensive could the British make up for their inferiority in numbers; and, obtaining the assistance of the Indians under their great chief Tecumseh, he made a rapid forced march to the western end of the province. There he forced Hull to fall back on Detroit; and then, with an audacity almost foolhardy,



POLICE.

WHEREAS authentic intelligence has been received that the Government of the United States of America did, on the 18th instant, declare War against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and its dependencies, Notice is hereby given, that all Subjects or Citizens of the said United States, and all persons claiming American Citizenship, are ordered to quit the City of Quebec, on or before **TWELVE** o'clock at Noon, on **WEDNESDAY** next, and the District of Quebec on or before **12** o'clock at noon on **FRIDAY** next, on pain of arrest.

ROSS CUTHBERT,

C. Q. S. & Inspector of Police.

The Constables of the City of Quebec are ordered to assemble in the Police Office at **10** o'clock to-morrow morning, to receive instructions.

Quebec, 29th June, 1812.

he crossed over to American soil and attacked Detroit itself. He had at his disposal a force which, including the Indians, was only about half of that under Hull's command. Yet his boldness overawed the Americans;

The Enemy has brought some boats
over land from Shekhar to the Niagara
River, and made an attempt last night
to carry off the second over the stone at
Sunder ton. I shall refrain as long as
possible under your Excellency's position
insinuations, from every hostile act although
sometimes they each day delay giving him
an advantage -
I have the honor to be, with every respect
Yrs. Excellency's
Obedient Servant
Philip H. Boscawen
Genl. Secy. to
Genl. Brock
12th October 1812

LETTER WRITTEN BY GENERAL BROCK A FEW HOURS
BEFORE HIS DEATH

and Hull actually surrendered Detroit "without the sacrifice of a drop of British blood". Then Brock hurried back to face the attack of the Americans on the Niagara frontier. Here, during the summer, the

Americans had been concentrating troops and supplies for a decisive attack. This they launched under cover of the night of October 12, near the village of Queenston. Brock, whose headquarters were at Fort George near the mouth of the Niagara River, dashed immediately on horseback to the scene of danger. On reaching Queenston he found that the troops stationed there had repelled the first American attack; but shortly afterward he learned that the Americans had obtained a foothold on Queenston Heights, by way of a hidden path up the bank of the Niagara gorge. With his customary dash and gallantry, he placed himself at the head of a party hurriedly organized to drive the Americans from their point of vantage; and in this attack he fell mortally wounded. His death was a severe blow to the British and Canadians. But later in the day, his second in command, General Sheaffe, organized a flank attack on the American position on Queenston Heights and succeeded in driving the invaders into the river. After another attempt, no more successful than the first, to force a crossing above Queenston Heights, the Americans retired to take up winter quarters in Buffalo; and the year 1812 ended with Canadian soil everywhere intact, and Detroit and Michilimackinac in Canadian hands.

The year 1813 saw a more energetic prosecution of the war by the Americans. A campaign was planned in which threefold operations were to be conducted against the Detroit frontier, the Niagara frontier, and Montreal. On the Detroit frontier the year opened auspiciously for the British. An American force, advancing upon Sandwich in January, was attacked by the British under Colonel Procter at Frenchtown, and was forced to surrender. But after this initial success Procter's star waned. He made an unsuccessful attempt to storm Fort Meigs

*The
campaign
of 1813
in the West*

on the Maumee River, and was then forced to fall back on Amherstburg in Upper Canada. Here he attempted to stand his ground; but his position was made untenable by the victory won by the American naval force under Lieutenant Perry over the British at the battle of Lake Erie on September 9. This naval victory forced Procter to fall back up the Thames valley, with a view to evacuating the western part of Upper Canada; but his retreat was badly conducted, and the Americans, following on his heels, came up with him at Moraviantown and completely routed his forces. Among the dead on the battlefield was the great Shawnee chief Tecumseh, perhaps the greatest soldier the Indian tribes ever produced.

*The
campaign
of 1813 on
the Niagara
frontier*

On the Niagara frontier, in 1813, the Americans at first swept all before them. They compelled the British to evacuate the whole of the Niagara peninsula; they obtained on Lake Ontario a naval supremacy similar to that which they won on Lake Erie; and in April they succeeded in capturing York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada. The parliament buildings at York were destroyed by fire, and parts of the fortifications were blown up. But later in the year the British succeeded in reviving their fallen fortunes. In June Colonel Harvey, who afterwards became successively lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, made a brilliant and successful attack on the Americans at Stoney Creek near the western extremity of Lake Ontario; and shortly afterwards a small force of Canadian militia, under Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, compelled the surrender of a larger body of Americans at Beaver Dams. By the end of the year, the British had driven the enemy out of the Niagara peninsula, and had even crossed the Niagara River and carried the war into the enemy's

country. Unfortunately, in retiring, the Americans burned the unfortified town of Newark (now Niagara-on-the-Lake); and this wanton act, perpetrated in winter weather, led on the part of the British to similar reprisals, notably to the destruction of Buffalo, and to the burning, the following year, of the public buildings in Washington, the latter by a landing-party from the British fleet in the Atlantic. At the same time, the British navy on the Great Lakes, under Commander Yeo, was able, if not to obtain a superiority over the Americans, at least to hold them in check.

The most important and critical of the American operations in 1813 were, however, those directed against Montreal. The real objective of these operations was Kingston, where the Canadian shipyards on Lake Ontario were situated; but it was thought that Kingston would be most easily reduced by capturing Montreal and thus cutting off Kingston from the sea. Against Montreal two armies were launched. One, under General Wilkinson, was to advance from Sackett's Harbour on Lake Ontario; the other, under General Wade Hampton, was to advance from Lake Champlain. The first, after crossing to the Canadian side, was defeated at Crysler's Farm, on November 11, by a small British column under Colonel Morrison; and the second encountered on October 25 a combined force of French-Canadian and English-Canadian militia, under Colonels de Salaberry and Macdonell, at the Châteauguay River. The Americans outnumbered the Canadians by more than three to one; but Salaberry's French-Canadian Voltigeurs, on whom fell the brunt of the conflict, fought with such dash and heroism that the Americans were thrown back and forced to beat a retreat. The battle of Châteauguay—in which French Canadians and English Canadians

*The
operations
against
Montreal in
1813*

fought side by side—resulted in the abandonment of the American campaign against Montreal; and the year 1813 ended, as the year 1812 had ended, with Canada virtually free from the foreign invader.

*The
campaign
of 1814*

The campaign of 1814, in which the Americans returned for the third time to the attack, was less decisive. On the Niagara frontier a bitter struggle took place. A new American general, Jacob Brown, succeeded at first in driving the British from American soil and in capturing Fort Erie on the Canadian side of the Niagara River. But when he attempted to advance from Fort Erie, he was met by the main British force at Lundy's Lane near Niagara Falls, and here occurred the bloodiest and most stubborn battle of the whole war. In it both sides claimed the victory; but the result of the battle was that the American advance was stayed. Later, the arrival of British reinforcements and the failure of the naval support on which he had counted, forced Brown to withdraw behind the Niagara River. Meanwhile, however, the war had not gone well with the British in Lower Canada. At first, Sir George Prevost, the governor of Canada, had taken the offensive against the Americans. He advanced on Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, driving the Americans before him. But here he met disaster. Realizing that a naval superiority on Lake Champlain was a necessary condition of British success, he hurried the weak British flotilla into action before it was ready, he stood idly by while it was defeated, and then he made an inglorious retirement. Only the lateness of the season prevented the Americans from advancing on Montreal.

*Events in
other
quarters*

On the events of the war in other quarters it is not necessary to dwell here. In the summer of 1814 the British Atlantic Fleet sailed into Chesapeake Bay, and

landed an army which defeated the Americans under the eyes of President Madison. Washington was occupied, and its public buildings were burned. In January, 1815, a British army, composed largely of veterans of the Peninsular war, having landed near New Orleans, was badly defeated by the Americans under General Andrew Jackson, afterwards a president of the United States. But before this last engagement took place, peace had already been signed by the British and American commissioners at Ghent. Both sides had grown tired of the struggle; and, since the Napoleonic wars had for the moment come to an end, there was no object in continuing it. The Treaty of Ghent recognized the fact that the war had been a drawn game; and in its terms the causes of the struggle were not even mentioned.

Neither the British nor the American people have looked back with much pride on the War of 1812. Great Britain, which had prided itself on being "the mistress of the seas", had failed to obtain on the Great Lakes, or even on the Atlantic Ocean, that naval supremacy which was a prerequisite of success; and the United States, with forces vastly superior in numbers to those of the country they were invading, had failed to establish anywhere a permanent foothold on Canadian soil. Only in Canada has the war been a source of pride. The Canadians, with the aid of the British regulars stationed in Canada, showed on many stricken fields of battle their ability to defend their own country against overwhelming odds. Wars waged against a foreign invader against such odds—wars such as the War of Scottish Independence or the Italian War of Liberation—have frequently given birth to a strong national feeling; and this the War of 1812—which might not improperly be called the Canadian War of Independence—did in

*Significance
of the war*

Canada. It bound together, as nothing else could have done, the scattered and diverse elements in the country; and it gave Canadians memories which are invoked to this day.

The best brief account of the War of 1812 is William Wood, *The War with the United States* (Toronto, 1915). The life of Brock has been told by Lady Edgar (Toronto, 1905), by W. M. Nursey (Toronto, 1908), and by H. S. Eayrs (Toronto, 1924).

§ 5. THE CONQUEST OF THE GREAT NORTH-WEST

*The
fur trade*

AMONG the factors which determined, during the first half-century of British rule, the lines along which Canada was to develop, none was more influential than the fur trade. When Canada passed under British rule in 1763, the Hudson's Bay Company had been established on the shores of Hudson Bay for nearly a century, and had pushed inland from the Bay as far as the prairies. Meanwhile, the French from the St. Lawrence valley had also reached to the prairies; and in 1754 Anthony Hendry had encountered one of their trading-posts in the Saskatchewan valley. After the British conquest, the French fur trade in the west fell into the hands of English, Scottish, and American merchants who had flocked into Montreal in the wake of the army. These merchants, making use of the French and half-breed *voyageurs* who had been engaged in the fur trade during the French régime, gradually struck out into the prairies far beyond the limits within which the French had traded, and cut off the Hudson's Bay Company's supply of furs at its source. The Great Company was forced, therefore, to abandon its century-old policy of "hugging the shores of the Bay", and embarked on the policy of establishing posts in the interior. There thus sprang up between the traders from Hudson Bay and those from

Montreal a long and bitter struggle for supremacy, in which the rival groups pushed farther and farther west in the search for new and untapped sources of the fur trade, and in which the map of western Canada was gradually rolled back, until the barrier of the Rocky Mountains was pierced, and explorers descended the Pacific slope to the shores of that "Western Sea" which it had been the dream of all the early pathfinders to reach. This "fight for the fur" resulted in the effective occupation by the British of what we know as the North-West, and thus paved the way for the inclusion of this vast territory in the Dominion of Canada to-day.

The first great advances in exploration during this period were those made by an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company named Samuel Hearne. Hearne had begun life as a midshipman in the British navy, but had entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1770 he was selected, because of his knowledge of navigation and surveying, to lead an expedition into the interior to investigate the tales told by the Indians of mineral wealth to the north-west. He set out from Fort Prince of Wales with a party of Indians, made his way westward and then northward across the Barren Lands, and finally in 1771 reached the Arctic Ocean at the mouth of the Coppermine River. He found the deposits of copper near the mouth of this river to be of no commercial value, and he then turned back. In retracing his steps, however, he struck south to a vast lake which he called "Lake Athapuscow", but which was probably Great Slave Lake, and which he was the first white man to see. Thence he worked his way back eastward to Hudson Bay, and reached Fort Prince of Wales in the autumn of 1771, after an absence of eighteen months. His journey, which had taken him over great stretches of territory

*Samuel
Hearne*

virtually unexplored even to-day, he described afterwards in a very interesting book; and this book is now one of the classics of Canadian travel and discovery. But his journey to the Arctic was not his only title to fame. He was also the first officer of the Hudson's Bay Company to establish a trading post in the interior. It was just after his return from his journey to the Arctic that the Great Company decided to change its policy, and to begin the establishment of inland trading posts. Hearne was selected to found the first of these posts, and in 1774 he built Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan River.

*The North
West
Company*

This action, however, merely spurred the bold and energetic Montrealers to greater efforts. Hardly had the log walls of Cumberland House arisen when traders like Alexander Henry the elder and the three Frobisher brothers pushed farther west, and thus cut off its supply of furs. As early as 1778, Peter Pond, a rough American trader who committed more than one murder, reached Lake Athabaska, which he was the first white man to see; and in 1786 a Scotsman named Cuthbert Grant built a trading post on Great Slave Lake, which Hearne had visited fifteen years before. Up to this point the Montrealers had been unorganized, each trader or group of traders competing with the others; but in 1783 a number of the Montreal merchants joined hands and formed the powerful North West Company. This union of forces gave them added strength; and in the subsequent duel for the control of the western fur trade, the Nor'Westers outstripped at every turn the rival traders from Hudson Bay.

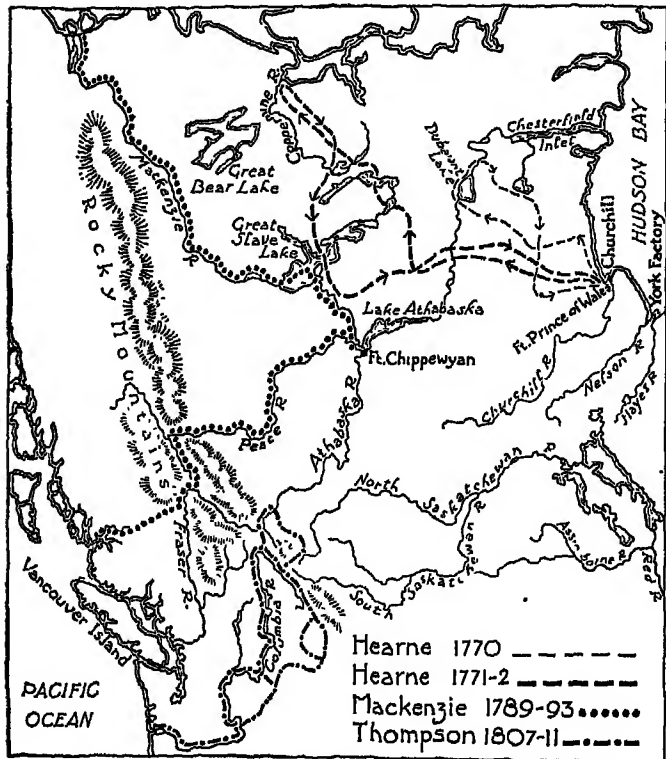
*Sir
Alexander
Mackenzie*

The greatest name in the history of the North West Company is that of Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Mackenzie was a young clerk from Scotland who had come



A HUDSON BAY CANOE
From a painting by Mrs. Hopkins

to Canada about 1779 and had entered the service of a fur-trading firm in Montreal. Six years later he was sent to the west, and ultimately he found himself in charge of the westernmost trading post of the North West Company, Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska. Here his



EXPLORATIONS OF HEARNE, MACKENZIE, AND THOMPSON

curiosity was roused by the mystery of what lay to the north and west of him. In 1789 he made, with some of his men, a flying trip to the north-west, and descended to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean that great river which

is still known after him as the Mackenzie. Three years later he made a second and more momentous expedition. With a small party of picked men he crossed the Rocky Mountains by way of the Peace River Pass, and thence made his way down the Fraser River toward the sea. Finding this river too dangerous for navigation, he abandoned his canoe, and led his men overland until, after several days of wilderness travel, he succeeded at last in reaching the salt water of the Pacific not far from a cape to which Captain Vancouver, an English navigator, had given, the year before, the name of Port Lindsay. Here, with a mixture of vermilion and grease, he painted on the face of the rock this legend:

*Alexander Mackenzie from Canada by land,
twenty-second of July, seventeen hundred and ninety-three.
Latitude 52° , 20 m., 48 s., north.*

The painting of this legend marked the end of the long search for the Western Sea, to which, for nearly three centuries, explorers had devoted their energies and sometimes their lives. Mackenzie, it is true, had a better idea of his problem than any of his predecessors, for in 1778 the famous Captain Cook had explored the Pacific coast of North America, and his observations had been published after his death, in his *Third Voyage*. Since 1785, moreover, English, Spanish, and American trading-ships had been visiting Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island in search of the skins of sea-otters; and a serious diplomatic dispute had arisen between Great Britain and Spain over their rights on this coast—a dispute which was settled in Great Britain's favour in 1790 by what is known as the "Nootka Convention". But the fact that the Pacific Coast was in 1793 already frequented by European sailors in no way lessens the achievement of Alexander Mackenzie in being the first

white man to cross the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and it was fitting that, on the publication of his *Voyages from Montreal to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans*, in 1801, he should have been knighted by George III.

Simon
Fraser and
David
Thompson

Other Nor'Westers did work scarcely less notable than that of Mackenzie. In 1808 Simon Fraser, a Nor'Wester of United Empire Loyalist stock, who had been placed in charge of the trade west of the Rockies, descended to its mouth the river which Mackenzie had found unnavigable, and which is now known as the Fraser; and in 1811 David Thompson, another partner of the North West Company, descended from its source to its mouth the great Columbia River. David Thompson, it is true, began his career in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company; but he went over to the North West Company while still a young man, and it was in the service of this Company that his greatest work was accomplished. During the many years which he spent in the West, he never made a journey without making at the same time a traverse of his course, and laying it down on the map; and he seldom stopped for any length of time at a post or camp without taking observations for longitude and latitude. The result was that he was able, when he retired from the fur trade in 1812, to make a great map of the North-West, the accuracy of which challenges admiration when the crudeness of his instruments is remembered; and this map is to-day the basis of every map of the North-West that has been published. In his later days blindness and poverty overtook him; and his great achievements were almost wholly forgotten. But in 1915 the Champlain Society published his *Narrative of His Explorations*, which had remained in manuscript for a good part of a century; and he came to be recognized as

one of Canada's greatest explorers, and as "the greatest land geographer the British race has produced".

In the struggle between the Hudson's Bay and the North West Companies, a curious incident was the

*The
Selkirk
Colony*



MAP SHOWING THE SELKIRK GRANT

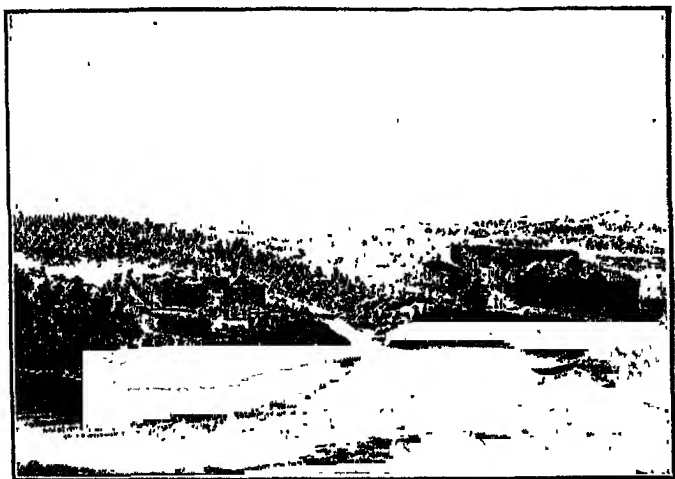
founding of the Red River colony in 1812 by the Earl of Selkirk. Lord Selkirk was a wealthy and philanthropic Scottish nobleman who was anxious to alleviate the tragic lot of the crofters in the north of Scotland who, owing

to an economic revolution in the Highlands, had been evicted from their homes. He had already assisted Highland colonists to settle in Prince Edward Island and in Upper Canada; but he had also been attracted by the possibilities of the Canadian West. "At the western extremity of Canada", he wrote in 1802, "upon the waters which fall into Lake Winnipeg . . . is a country which the Indian traders represent as fertile and of a climate far more temperate than the shores of the Atlantic under the same parallel." With the object of founding a colony of Highlanders in this region, he acquired a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company, and secured from the Company a grant of one hundred and sixteen thousand square miles in the valleys of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, a district to which was given the name of Assiniboia. In 1811 he sent out to the Red River, by way of Hudson Bay, a party of about ninety Highland colonists. These settled near the site of the present city of Winnipeg in the summer of 1812. Two years later a second party, numbering about a hundred, joined them; and these colonists formed the nucleus of the first genuine settlement in the Canadian West.

*The fate of
the colony*

Unaccustomed to life in the wilds of America and cut off from contact with the outside world, the Red River settlers suffered at first severe trials and privations. Their crops failed, and one winter they had to send messengers south to what is now Minnesota to obtain seed wheat for the spring. But their severest trials were due to the hostility of the traders of the North West Company. Though the Red River valley technically belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company, it had long been almost a preserve of the Nor'Westers. These resented bitterly the influx of Selkirk's Highlanders. They tried first to drive them out by intimidation; and, when this

failed, they made on the colony a deliberate and unprovoked attack. They stirred up the *Métis*, or half-breeds, of the Red River against the colonists; and when Robert Semple, the governor of the colony, sallied forth with a small band of colonists to meet the excited half-breeds, Semple and twenty-one of the settlers were shot down near a place named Seven Oaks. After this massacre the remainder of the Selkirk settlers were driven



FUR-TRADING POSTS AT THE MOUTH OF THE PEMBINA RIVER
Drawn in 1822

from their homes. Selkirk was at this time on his way to visit the Red River; and he heard of the massacre of Seven Oaks at Sault Ste. Marie. He immediately made his way, with a small force of mercenaries, to Fort William, the headquarters of the Nor'Westers on Lake Superior, and placed under arrest several of the partners and agents of the company. In January, 1817, he reached

the Red River, and re-established his colony. But his own triumph was short-lived. On his return to Upper Canada, he became involved in a long series of suits and counter-suits with the North West Company, which exerted a powerful influence in the government of Canada at that time; and in this legal struggle he was worsted. His health broke down, and he was compelled to seek refuge in the south of France, where he died in 1821. But his colony in the Red River valley took root and grew in time into the city of Winnipeg of to-day; and his name will always be held in remembrance as that of the pioneer of settlement in the Canadian West.

*Results of
the struggle*

In 1821 the long feud between the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies—a feud in which blood had been spilt, and in which the Indians had been debauched with rum—came to an end with the union of the two Companies, or rather the incorporation of the North West Company in the Hudson's Bay Company. By this time, however, the exploration of the Great North-West had been to a large extent accomplished; and the British flag flew, not only over those regions watered by the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay which had been originally granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, but also over the Pacific slope from the mouth of the Columbia northward. That part of the Pacific slope which came to be known as the Oregon country was afterwards lost to Great Britain through the influx of American settlers; but by 1821 the fur traders had staked out Canada's claim to the Great North-West.

For this section see Agnes C. Laut, *The Conquest of the Great North-West* (New York, 1911) and L. J. Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea* (London, 1908). Good short lives of Sir Alexander Mackenzie and David Thompson are those by Hume Wrong (Toronto, 1927) and by C. N. Cochrane (Toronto, 1924), respectively. The best book on Lord Selkirk is C. Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada* (Oxford, 1916).

PART II: A HALF-CENTURY OF GROWTH

Ev'n now we hear with inward strife
 A motion toiling in the gloom—
 The Spirit of the years to come
 Yearning to mix himself with Life.

A slow-develop'd strength awaits
 Completion in a painful school;
 Phantoms of other forms of rule,
 New Majesties of mighty States.

—ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON, *Love Thou Thy Land*

§ 1. THE NEWCOMERS

IN 1791 the population of what is now the Dominion of Canada consisted chiefly of two elements—the original *Immigration after 1791*

French inhabitants and the Loyalists of the American colonies. Since that time the French population of the country has received few additions save by natural increase; but the Loyalist element, the basis of the English-speaking population of the country, has been overlaid by so many successive waves of immigration that to-day the number of Canadians entitled to be called United Empire Loyalist is comparatively small. These later immigrants were of diverse origins. There were among them *émigrés* of the French Revolution, German-speaking Mennonites from Pennsylvania, and Gaelic-speaking Scottish Highlanders. But the overwhelming majority came from the British Isles or from the United States, and spoke English. This is why Canada is to-day predominantly an English-speaking country.

The first wave of immigration after 1791 came from the United States into Upper Canada and the "Eastern Townships" of Lower Canada. Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, believed that there remained in the United States many *American settlers*

who were at heart loyal to Great Britain; and he issued proclamations inviting them to settle in Upper Canada and offering them free lands. Many "Americans" accepted his offer, and a large part of Upper Canada west of the Loyalist settlements about the Bay of Quinté was originally opened up by them. Some of these people were no doubt "late Loyalists"; but a great many of them came simply because they were attracted by the offer of free lands. They were, as a rule, excellent settlers. Richard Cartwright, himself a prominent Loyalist, confessed that they had "resources in themselves which other people are usually strangers to"; and he compared them favourably with the Loyalists who came to Upper Canada after 1791 from England and the Maritime provinces. A good example of this type of settler was Philemon Wright, the "white chief of the Ottawa", who established himself in 1800 on the site of the present city of Hull opposite Ottawa, and was the father of settlement in this region. Most of these American settlers were republican and democratic in their sympathies. During the War of 1812 not a few of them deserted to the American invaders of Upper Canada. From this American element in the province, moreover, William Lyon Mackenzie derived later not a little of his support; and in the struggle for self-government in Canada they played a decided part.

The Eastern Townships

It was by a similar element that the so-called Eastern Townships of Lower Canada were largely settled. The population of this region, which lies along the border between the province of Quebec and the United States, has frequently been described as "Loyalist"; and some Loyalists no doubt eventually found homes there. But for many years after the close of the American Revolution, settlement was deliberately prohibited in this district,

in order that it might remain a sort of "no man's land" between Canada and the United States. It was only after 1791 that it was divided into townships—denominated "Eastern" to distinguish them from the "Western" townships of Upper Canada—and that settlement began. Of the first settlers a large number came from Vermont.

The War of 1812 put a stop for many years to immigration from the United States, and indeed resulted in the loss of some of the immigration that had taken place. But already the tide of settlers from the British Isles was setting in; and during the first half of the nineteenth century, it reached at times large proportions. The greater number of these settlers came at first from the Highlands of Scotland, where an economic revolution was in progress. The population of the Highlands, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, overran its resources; and the Scottish landlords were compelled to turn their estates into deer-parks and sheep-runs. The clan system, which had prevailed in the Highlands since prehistoric times, broke down; and the clansmen were driven from their "crofts". As early as 1772 a party of these unfortunate Highlanders had landed from the *Hector* at Pictou in Nova Scotia; and in the years that followed many others sought refuge in what are now the Maritime provinces of Canada. The Protestant Highlanders settled near Pictou; the Roman Catholics at Antigonish. In 1803 the Earl of Selkirk, who was destined, as we have seen, to found later the settlement of Highlanders on the Red River in what is now the province of Manitoba, transported a number of them to Prince Edward Island. Others came out to Canada about the same time, to join their fellow-clansmen, who, at the close of the American Revolution, had settled in

*Scottish
immigrants*

Glengarry in Upper Canada. In 1803 Lord Selkirk attempted to found also a Highland colony at Baldoon in the westernmost part of Upper Canada. At a later date The MacNab, head of the clan MacNab, established some of his clansmen on the banks of the Ottawa River. These early settlers, as they made good their foothold in the New World, acted as a magnet for others; and during the whole of the first half of the nineteenth century, Scottish immigrants, both Highland and Lowland, Protestant and Roman Catholic, flocked into British North America in great numbers. The county of Lanark in Upper Canada, for instance, was first settled by Scottish Lowlanders from Lanarkshire in Scotland; and "Scotch blocks" sprang up in many other parts of Upper Canada. An outstanding example was the district known as Zorra near Woodstock. When John Morley visited Canada in the beginning of the twentieth century, he was so impressed by the contribution that the Scots had made to the upbuilding of Canada that he called the the Dominion "a backyard of Scotland"

*Irish
immigrants*

From Ireland, also, immigrants came at an early date. After the rebellion of 1798 in Ireland, a large number of Irishmen fled from their native island; and while most of these took refuge in the United States, not a few came to Canada. Conditions in Ireland at the beginning of the nineteenth century were scarcely more happy than they were in Scotland; and many Irishmen, even of a loyalist type, decided to emigrate. One of these was the grandfather of Robert Baldwin, the father of "responsible government" in Canada. Later, in 1825, an Irish colony was founded near Peterborough in Upper Canada. But the full tide of Irish immigration to Canada took place only at the period of the Irish famine of 1847. Then thousands of poor and wretched Irish peasants, faced

with starvation in their native land, boarded the immigrant ships for Canada. On the long ocean voyage, cholera broke out among the ignorant passengers of the unsanitary sailing-ships of that day; and the bodies of thousands of these Irish immigrants were either cast overboard or buried in the quarantine cemetery near Quebec. The survivors, however, formed Irish colonies in Montreal and in various places in Upper Canada.

The Scottish and Irish immigrants tended to settle in homogeneous groups or communities; but not so the English. Except for some military settlements formed in Upper Canada of disbanded English soldiers after the close of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the English immigrants settled here, there, and everywhere. For this reason their numbers are difficult to gauge; but what they may have lacked in numbers they made up in quality. Not a few of them were retired naval and military officers, who took up land in the Eastern Townships or in Upper Canada, and tried to supplement their pensions by farming. As farmers they were not, as a rule, a conspicuous success; but they proved, nevertheless, a valuable element in the life of Upper and Lower Canada. Their standards of taste and manners, their superior education, even their Tory ideas, made a distinct contribution to Canadian life. An example of this class of settler is to be found in Colonel Samuel Strickland, a member of a family notable in the history of early Canadian literature. Colonel Strickland's *Twenty-seven Years in Canada West* is perhaps the best description of the experiences of an early settler which has come down to us; and his sisters, Mrs. Moodie and Mrs. Traill, wrote books—such as Mrs. Moodie's *Roughing it in the Bush*—which are scarcely less noteworthy. Settlers of *English immigrants*

this type helped to lift life in Canada above the level of a mere struggle for existence.

*The Talbot
Settlement*

The most famous of these retired military officers, however, was Colonel Thomas Talbot of Malahide. A member of an English family famous since the Norman conquest, Talbot had been a youthful friend of the great Duke of Wellington. The two had been aides-de-camp of the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and when they met late in life still called each other by their first names. Talbot came to Canada first as a junior officer in the British army, and he was for a time on Simcoe's staff at Niagara. In 1803 after several years' service against the French in Europe, he resigned his commission in the army, returned to Canada, and settled at Port Talbot on Lake Erie. Here he obtained from the government a large grant of land; and on this he proceeded to place settlers. Other grants followed, thousands of acres passed through his hands, and the Talbot settlement became the most important in the western part of Upper Canada. Over his settlers Talbot exercised a paternal authority. His method of allotting lands was typical: he merely entered the name of the settler in pencil on a large map in his office; and if the land was sold or passed to another settler, the first name was erased with an India-rubber, and another entered in its place. Yet these pencil marks were regarded as no less valid than a title-deed from the government; for every one knew that Colonel Talbot was as good as his word. He presided over the interests of his settlement for half a century; and he saw it grow until, on his death in 1851, there were within its borders nearly seventy thousand settlers, including the population of the city of London and several flourishing towns.

*The Canada
Company*

Somewhat similar to Colonel Talbot's scheme of colonization was that launched twenty years later by the

Canada Company. This company obtained in 1826 a large grant of land in the western part of Upper Canada, known as the "Huron Tract", and brought out settlers to whom it sold lands. The superintendent of the company was John Galt the Scottish novelist; and it was by Galt that the town of Guelph was founded in 1827. It was after him, also, that the town of Galt (originally known as Shade's Mills) was named in 1827. A road was built by the company through the forest of the Huron Tract, establishing communication by land between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron; and through the efforts of the company the colonization of the Huron country was successfully accomplished. The company had a severe struggle, for the establishment of new communities in the Canadian bush proved a strain on its inadequate resources; but by 1833 Lord Dalhousie, the governor of Canada, was able to congratulate John Galt on the success of his efforts. The settlers brought in by the Canada Company were almost all of a high type; and western Ontario owes to-day to the memory of John Galt a debt no less than it owes to the memory of Thomas Talbot.

By 1850 the older parts of what is now Ontario had been opened up to settlement; and the population of Upper Canada (or Canada West, as it came to be known after 1841) had increased from approximately 6,000 in 1791 to nearly 500,000 in 1841, and to 800,000 in 1850. In the year 1847 alone nearly 100,000 immigrants came into Canada, and the great majority of these settled in the upper part of the province. A small proportion passed on to settle in Michigan and other states near the Canadian border; but by 1850 the population of Upper Canada (or Canada West) actually exceeded that of the more ancient province of Lower Canada (or Canada

*The
population
of Canada
in 1850*

East, as the French-Canadian province of Quebec was then known).

*The motives
of the
settlers*

The motives of the settlers who flocked into Canada in these years were in the main economic. The incomers from the United States were attracted by the offer of free lands. The Highland Scottish emigrants were actuated by a desire to escape from the conditions caused by the economic revolution in the north of Scotland. The emigration from England was largely the result of the conditions created in the manufacturing districts by the Industrial Revolution and in the agricultural districts by the depression following the Napoleonic Wars. The chief influx from Ireland resulted from the potato famine in that unhappy land in the middle of the nineteenth century. There were a few Scottish Jacobites, Irish rebels, and English radicals who came to Canada for political reasons; but these were a negligible quantity in comparison with the immigrants who came to Canada from economic motives. Of the latter, a certain percentage came out under state-aided schemes of emigration devised in the hope of relieving the over-population and unemployment in the British Isles; but these again were a small proportion of the whole. The overwhelming majority of the British immigrants who came to British North America between 1791 and 1850 were voluntary and unassisted. They were not paupers. They paid their own passages and made their own way in the New World. Many of them were people who saw no future before them in the Old World, and came out to the New to obtain for themselves, or to give their children, a better chance. This chance they obtained; and the story of thousands of families attests the fact that good use was made of it. There were those—such as the decrepit, the weak-minded, and the lazy—who failed to make

good their foothold in their new surroundings; but the great majority found in the New World a competency and an "ease of mind" such as they had not known in the Old. There were in Canada, as early as 1833, said an English immigrant, "no signs of absolute poverty and distress, no parish paupers . . . no very rich . . . and no very poor people".

A detailed treatment of the subject-matter of this section is to be found in Helen Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America* (Toronto, 1928). For Colonel Talbot, see C. O. Ermatinger *The Talbot Régime* (St. Thomas, 1904), and for the Canada Company, see R. and K. M. Lizars, *In the Days of the Canada Company* (Toronto, 1896).

§ 2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, 1791—1867

How did those who flocked into the British North American provinces after 1791 make a living? There were few manufacturing industries to offer them employment. In Nova Scotia and at Quebec there were ship-yards; and at St. Maurice, near Three Rivers in Lower Canada, there was an iron smelter and foundry dating from the French régime, where stoves, kettles, and other iron wares were manufactured. Scattered through all the provinces were flour-mills, breweries, and distilleries, with an occasional woollen-mill. But the total amount of labour absorbed in these industries was small. A certain proportion of the population obtained a livelihood in trade—either in the fur trade, or in the importation and sale of those commodities which the country needed, but did not produce. Every community had one or more "general stores". There was of course also a sprinkling of the professional classes—lawyers, doctors, teachers, and journalists; and there were perhaps more than the usual number of government officials. But

*Economic
conditions
in 1791*

those who derived a livelihood from trade, or the professions, or the public service formed but a small proportion of the whole. The great majority of the people of the British North American provinces in 1791 and for many years afterwards, drew their livelihood from the basic industries of fishing, lumbering, and agriculture. Of these, fishing and lumbering were chiefly followed at this time in the Maritime provinces; and in the rest of British North America most people lived upon the land. They had, like the Loyalists before them, to cut down and root up the trees, to cultivate the soil, and to support themselves with its produce.

*Economic
drawbacks*

Of the isolation of the Canadian pioneer, especially in Upper Canada, we can to-day have little conception. Where roads existed they were as a rule mere tracks through the forest; and many a settler had to carry his grain on his back many miles to the nearest grist-mill to be ground. He built his house of logs hewn on the spot; he raised his own food; he made his own soap and candles, and in many cases his own clothes. Even where communities sprang up in villages and towns, these were largely self-contained and self-supporting. The centres of population in Upper Canada, for instance, were cut off from the rest of the world by the rapids of the St. Lawrence; and the cost of imported goods in Upper Canada was exorbitantly high. Nor was there much money in the country to pay for imported goods. What money was brought in promptly escaped, since the country imported more than it exported. Even in the Maritime provinces and Lower Canada, despite their excellent harbours, the export trade was not voluminous. Trade was, under the British Navigation Acts, chiefly limited to the British Isles and the British West Indies, and could be carried on only in British ships. The idea

underlying British colonial policy at this time was that the colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country, and all trade was discouraged or forbidden which competed in any way with the trade of the mother country. In 1768, the president of the Board of Trade of England had expressed alarm at the extent to which the habitants were producing their own cloth: the clothing of the people of the Empire was regarded by him as a monopoly of the mother country. While such views as these prevailed, it was not to be expected that Canadian trade would reach any large proportions.

Before British North America could advance from the pioneer stage in which it was in 1791, a change in these conditions was essential. Communications had to be greatly developed by the building and improvement of roads, by the construction of canals, and by the coming of railways, so that the isolation of the early days would be ended. Money had to be made available, through the establishment of a sound currency system and the founding of banks. Lastly, the restrictions on Canadian trade imposed by the Navigation Acts and the other features of the old colonial system had to be swept away, so that Canadian trade might be free to seek out its own markets.

These changes took place, in large measure, during the first half of the nineteenth century. Of the changes which occurred in transportation during this period, a brief description must suffice. At the beginning of the century, travel by water took place in sailing-ships, row-boats, and canoes; and travel by land was either on foot, on horseback, or in horse-drawn vehicles. There were as yet no canals to enable vessels to circumvent falls and rapids; and there were very few roads even in Lower Canada. The only highways in Upper Canada were Yonge Street, built in 1793-96 by Simcoe's Queen's

Rangers to connect Lake Ontario with Lake Simcoe; and Dundas Street, or "the Governor's Road", built by Simcoe to connect the head of Lake Ontario with the site of the proposed capital of the province at London. Between the valley of the St. Lawrence and the Maritime provinces there was nothing but a forest path. But during the early years of the nineteenth century, these roads were rapidly extended. In 1803 Lord Selkirk's settlers at Baldoon near Lake St. Clair cut the Baldoon road from Lake St. Clair to the River Thames; and in 1809 Colonel Talbot had a road surveyed from Fort Erie, at the eastern end of Lake Erie, through Port Talbot and the Talbot Settlement to the Detroit River. In 1816 Montreal was connected with Kingston by road; and in the following year this road was extended to York (Toronto). In 1826 the St. Lawrence valley was linked up with Nova Scotia by means of a military road, called the "Kempton Road" after Sir James Kempton, the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia at that time; and by 1827 a through route was available from Halifax to Amherstburg opposite Detroit. From this trunk line of communication a network of roads gradually sprang up, running north and south, and connecting the various centres of population.

*Character
of the
roads*

These roads, however, were far from being the comfortable highways of to-day. Even the best of them were made of logs or planks; and as the wood decayed, great holes appeared which made travelling a veritable ordeal. As late as 1832, a traveller from York (Toronto) to Hamilton, records in his diary that the journey was made "with great discomfort and pain. The roads were so rough, and the jolting of the stage so severe, that my whole frame was shaken, particularly my back. We took twelve hours to travel fifty miles". Shortly after

this, however, the practice was introduced of metalling the roads with a smooth, hard surface of crushed stone—known as “macadamizing”, after the Scottish engineer,



THE ROAD FROM YORK (TORONTO) TO KINGSTON
Drawn by Lieut. Cockburn in 1830.

Macadam, who introduced these roads into England after 1815. When this type of road spread gradually

through the more settled parts of British North America, travelling became for the first time—except in winter, when the snow filled in the inequalities of the roads—a matter of reasonable comfort.

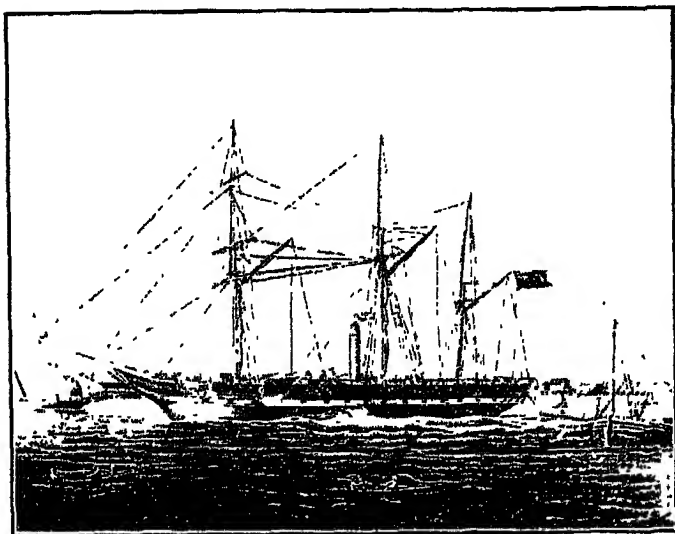


A CANADIAN STAGE COACH OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

*Travel by
water*

During the same period there was also a marked improvement in travel by water. It was in 1803 that the first boat propelled by a steam-engine and paddle-wheels was launched on the Clyde in Scotland; and six years later the first steamboat in Canada was built by John Molson at Montreal. This was the *Accommodation*, a tiny craft which generated only six horse-power and had a maximum speed of five miles an hour. Its engines were so weak that, when the current was strong, it had to be drawn by teams of oxen on shore. Two years later it

was superseded by the *Swiftsure*, with engines of twenty-eight horse-power. In 1817 the pioneer steamship on Lake Ontario, the *Frontenac*, made the trip from Kingston to York. It was not, however, until the thirties that the steamship era really began. In 1831 there was built at Quebec the *Royal William*, the first steamship to cross the Atlantic under its own steam; and during the thirties



THE ROYAL WILLIAM

steamboats gradually made their appearance on many of the larger lakes and rivers in Canada. In 1835 a visitor speaks of steamships arriving and departing in the harbour of York (Toronto) "almost hourly"; and by this time there was a steamer even on the Kawartha Lakes. In 1834 the tiny *Beaver* reached under her own steam the distant coast of British Columbia. At first

these vessels made irregular and sporadic trips; but in the forties the "Royal Mail Line" organized a regular steamship service on the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, and Samuel Cunard established the first regular service across the Atlantic.

Canals

Steamships, however, were as helpless as sailing-ships, and more helpless than canoes, in face of the rapids and waterfalls with which Canadian rivers abounded. At an early date the construction of canals to overcome these obstacles had been urged. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the Royal Engineers had built lock canals at the Côteau and the Cascades on the St. Lawrence. But it was many years before the resources of Upper and Lower Canada sufficed, even with the assistance of the Home government, to finance the construction of a complete system of canals from the Great Lakes to the sea. The Lachine canal was opened only in 1825; the Welland canal in 1829, and the Rideau canal in 1832. But by 1850 it was at last possible for vessels having a draught of nine feet to proceed from Chicago to the sea. When this result was achieved, it became for the first time feasible for Upper Canada to reach out for international trade.

The railway era

Meanwhile the railway era had dawned. It was in 1825 that George Stephenson's *Rocket* ushered in this era in England. In 1837 the first steam railway in Canada came into operation, on the "snake-rails" laid the previous year by the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railway Company from the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal to St. Johns on the Richelieu River—a distance of sixteen miles. But this railway was merely a "portage road"; and for ten years it was, moreover, the only steam railway in British North America. During these years there were many railways projected, and

many charters granted, both in the Canadas and in the Maritime provinces; but the task of building railways in the difficult and sparsely settled country proved too much for private Canadian capitalists. While thousands of miles of railway were being constructed in the United States, British North America stood still. It was only when the Canadian government came to the rescue in 1849 with the offer of a guarantee to such roads as fulfilled its conditions, that railway building began in earnest. The St. Lawrence Railway, intended to connect Montreal with Portland, Maine; the Northern, from Toronto to the Georgian Bay; the Great Western, from the Niagara peninsula to Detroit—all these, and many other local railways, were begun in the years following 1849. Then in 1852 the project was launched of a "grand trunk" line which should give "through connections" from Lake Huron to the sea. The Grand Trunk Railway Company was incorporated, with the backing of English capitalists; and in 1853 construction was begun. The company encountered grave difficulties, partly because it was controlled by English financiers who did not always understand conditions in Canada; but it triumphed over all obstacles, and by 1860 its trains ran from Sarnia in the west to Rivière du Loup in the east. By this date, therefore, Upper Canada had free and untrammelled access to the sea both by land and water.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the development in transportation was paralleled by the development in communications. At the beginning of the century, the postal service, which was then (and for many years afterwards) under imperial control, was infrequent and expensive. A letter comprising a single sheet of paper cost about four shillings to send from

Canada to England and eightpence to send from Montreal to Quebec. In Upper Canada the courier made but one regular trip a year, and not until 1810 was a fortnightly courier service arranged between Montreal and Kingston. For many years the rates for postage remained prohibitive for poor people, and the service gave rise to constant complaint. Finally, in 1849, the British parliament transferred control of the postal service to the various provincial governments; and this immediately produced a revolution in postal facilities. Post-offices were, in a few years, quadrupled in number; rates were greatly reduced; and the revenues from "Her Majesty's mails" were at the same time considerably increased. In 1851 the use of postage stamps was adopted; in 1853 the first Canadian ocean mail service was inaugurated; and shortly afterwards the railways were pressed into service by the postal authorities. By this date the people of British North America were no longer cut off from communicating by letter freely and at a moderate cost with each other and with the outside world, as they had been fifty years before.

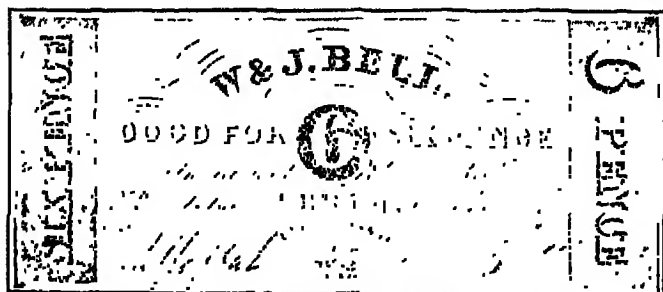
*The
telegraph*

At the same time a great advance in communication was made by the electric telegraph. In 1847 telegraphic connections were established between Toronto, Hamilton, Niagara, and St. Catharines in Canada West, and Quebec and Montreal in Canada East. In 1848 Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were connected by telegraph wires; and in 1851 the first submarine cable in America was laid between New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Like the postal service, the telegraphs were linked with the railways; and in this fact was to be seen the extent to which both transportation and communication had been revolutionized.

Another serious hindrance to the development of *Money* British North America at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the scarcity of money and the absence of proper banking facilities. Since the balance of trade was against Canada, and money always tended to leave the country, local trade had to be carried on very largely by means of barter. For his produce the farmer received credit with the local storekeeper, and this credit he used in buying necessities. Frequently poor men paid for their purchases in day labour. Little actual money changed hands. What money there was, moreover, varied greatly in character. There were current English shillings, florins, and sovereigns, American dollars, French crowns, Spanish "pieces of eight"; and many of these were in a clipped and mutilated condition, since debased coins did not tend to escape from the country so quickly as good coins. The standard money of account was what was known as the Halifax currency, or in Upper Canada as the York currency; but this was merely a money of account, and did not correspond with any existing coinage. The so-called "York shilling", for example, existed only on paper; and into this imaginary currency all actual money had to be translated.

The only banking facilities were those offered by the *Banking facilities* merchants and storekeepers, who thus came to occupy a very different place in the community from that occupied by the storekeepers of an English village. The functions of banking may be summed up under three heads—deposit, discount, and note-issue. The first two of these functions the shopkeepers performed moderately well. If some fortunate person had more gold and silver than he required for his immediate use and did not wish to place it out on loan, he could take it to a shopkeeper, and get him to place it in his strong-box—usually a

great iron-bound chest studded with nails, and securely locked and padlocked. He was not, of course, allowed any interest on the moneys thus deposited; even the banks did not at first allow interest on deposits, and the money was safer in a merchant's strong-box than if it were kept in the old-fashioned stocking. Just as deposits were accepted by the merchants, so discounts were usually made by them. Some of the merchants, indeed, made very handsome profits by trading in commercial paper. Bills of exchange on London were frequently at a premium in New York when they were plentiful in



A MERCHANT'S "BON" OR PAPER MONEY

Canada; and Canadian merchants were often able to sell these bills of exchange in the American market to great advantage. But the function of note-issue the merchants and shopkeepers hardly performed at all. A few of the merchants issued notes or "I.O.U.'s"—known as "bons", from the fact that they were marked good (*bon*) for a certain sum of money; and these made up to some extent for the scarcity of silver and gold. But even when the merchant who issued them was in good standing, they circulated only within a small radius; and

their value was sometimes so doubtful that there were cases known where the Indians used them as wadding for their flint-locks. Apart from these "bons" there was, as a rule, no paper money, either convertible or inconvertible, in the country; and it was only after the military authorities, during the War of 1812, issued what was known as Army bills—that is, notes redeemable at Quebec in government bills of exchange on London—that the people of Canada became familiar with the advantages of a paper currency, such as banks might, if established, be expected to provide.

The agitation for proper banking facilities in Canada began soon after the British conquest. As early as 1767 the scarcity of money led an enterprising auctioneer of the city of Quebec to petition for a monopoly of the right of issuing promissory notes as a substitute for coinage. The petition was not granted; but the agitation continued. As the trade of Canada grew, it was found to be a hardship that there existed no machinery whereby the funds of the community could be concentrated for particular undertakings. Especially after the Bank of the United States, established in 1791, proved a success, the project of a Canadian bank was mooted repeatedly. But the necessary capital was scarce; the government was apathetic; and it was only after the withdrawal of the Army bills at the close of the War of 1812 that the demand for banking facilities resulted in the establishment of the first Canadian bank. This was the Bank of Montreal, which was founded as a private bank in 1817 and granted a charter in 1822. The first bank in Upper Canada was the Bank of Upper Canada, which received its charter in 1821. Thereafter, new banks sprang up with bewildering rapidity, and established agencies or branch banks in all parts of the country.

*The
establish-
ment of
banks*

These contributed greatly to the development of the country. They attracted deposits, especially after they began in 1835 to pay interest, and they thus provided for the first time accumulations of capital which could be employed in launching local industries. They facilitated trade by dealing in commercial paper; and they issued bank-notes which swelled greatly the amount of ready money available in the country. At a later date they exerted an important influence, by agreeing to do business in dollars and cents, instead of in Halifax and York currency. They helped thus to compel the various provincial governments to adopt a decimal currency; and in this change was seen one of the subtle influences at work which contributed to bring about the union of British North America in 1867.

*British
colonial
policy*

A third obstacle to the development of British North America was the policy of the mother country toward colonial trade. The idea underlying British colonial policy in the eighteenth century—that the colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country—was embodied in the Trade and Navigation Acts, which gave to Great Britain a monopoly of colonial buying and selling, placed restrictions on colonial shipping, and discouraged or prohibited colonial manufactures. For a number of years after the American Revolution, the British North American provinces were actually prohibited from trading direct with the United States, their nearest market. This prohibition was removed only by Jay's Treaty in 1794; and even then trade with the United States was permitted only by road, river, lake, or canal. Trade by sea was still forbidden, even between Halifax and Boston. The British Isles and the British West Indies were, for practical purposes, the only markets enjoyed by Canadian trade; and trade with these markets was permitted

only in British or colonial ships. Under such restrictions, it was not surprising that Canadian trade grew slowly, and was limited to a few staples, such as wheat, timber, and fur.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, however, this "old colonial system" gradually broke down, and was finally swept away. First it suffered a series of piecemeal encroachments. In 1818 Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were at last given permission to trade by sea with the United States; and in 1822 the maritime trade of the whole of British North America was thrown open to all countries in America and Europe, though trade with Europe was still permitted only in British ships. In 1824 the prohibition on trade between Canada and the East Indies was withdrawn; and in 1825 the first sale of East India Company teas, imported directly from the Orient, took place in Montreal. At the same time the policy was adopted of giving a preference to Canadian wheat in the British market, so that it paid a lower import duty than wheat from any other country; and this policy culminated in the Canadian Corn Law, passed by the British parliament in 1842. The preference given by this Act to Canadian wheat and flour was so decided that it became profitable to import American wheat into Canada, have it ground in Canadian mills, and then ship it to Great Britain as Canadian flour. A considerable milling industry sprang up about Montreal, and Canada experienced something like a "boom." The boom was short-lived. In 1846 Great Britain completely reversed her colonial policy, and adopted the principle of free trade. The Corn Laws were abolished, the preference on Canadian wheat was cut in half, and then wiped out. The result in Canada was, for the moment, widespread disaster. The hopes that had been built on

*Breakdown
of the "old
colonial
system"*

the export of flour to Great Britain dissolved into thin air; and many a Canadian merchant and miller became bankrupt. Yet the cloud was not without its silver lining, for the adoption of free trade in corn sounded the death-knell of the Trade and Navigation Acts, and of that "old colonial system" which had handicapped so gravely the growth of Canadian trade. The last vestiges of the Navigation Acts were swept away in 1849; and henceforth Canadian export trade was free.

*Reciprocity
with the
United
States*

Having lost her advantages in the British market, Canada turned to find, under these circumstances, other markets for her products; and in 1854 Lord Elgin, the governor-general of Canada, went himself down to Washington and negotiated a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States. This treaty provided for the free interchange between the two countries of certain raw materials and natural substances, as well as for the free use by each country of the canals of the other; and it thus secured for Canada at one stroke the vast and growing market of the American republic. In negotiating the treaty Lord Elgin showed himself a consummate politician. It was said indeed by his secretary that the treaty was "floated through on champagne". When it expired there was in Canada no Lord Elgin to negotiate its renewal; and in 1866 it was terminated by the United States. But while it lasted it proved to Canada and the Maritime provinces a great boon, and may be said to have given them their first taste of real prosperity.

*An
economic
revolution*

The first sixty years of the nineteenth century had thus seen in the provinces of British North America a veritable economic revolution. From being a series of pioneer communities largely self-contained and self-supporting, cut off from the outside world, and subordinated

to the interests of the mother country, they had become an independent economic unit, reaching out for trade all over the world, and making trade arrangements irrespective of the mother country. Such, indeed, was the commercial independence of Canada that in 1859 it actually erected against the rest of the world (including the mother country) a tariff barrier, and insisted on retaining this barrier despite the protests of British chambers of commerce and British statesmen.

See H. Heaton, *History of Trade and Commerce, with Special Reference to Canada*, Chap. 8. (Toronto, 1928).

§ 3. THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

THE economic progress described in the last section naturally reflected itself in the life of the people. Between 1791 and 1867 there took place a vast change in living conditions in all the provinces of British North America. Communities, living at the beginning of this period under the most primitive conditions, grew into communities which, while still "colonial" rather than cosmopolitan, were, nevertheless, in 1867 comparable with the provincial society of older countries. Man's three primary needs are food, clothing, and shelter. All of these the inhabitants of British North America had in some fashion in 1791; but by 1867 there had been in regard to all of them a vast improvement, and there had been, in addition, a great advance in the higher aspects of life, such as education and religion.

Food in Canada in 1791 was limited in variety, and was almost wholly a local product. Bread was made from home-grown wheat; and meat was obtained from hunting or from the slaughtering of domestic animals. Fish were caught in the rivers and lakes. The potato was almost the only market vegetable in common use,

if we except the Indian corn or maize which was peculiar to the country. There were no fruits except those which grew wild, such as blueberries and raspberries. Tea and coffee, being imported, were so expensive as to be beyond the reach of average people. Sugar was derived chiefly from the maple tree. Whiskey, distilled from home-grown grain, was cheap and plentiful; but wines, being imported, were found only on the tables of the rich. By 1867 the diet of Canadians had changed greatly. Bread



AN EARLY TYPE OF UPPER CANADIAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

was bought from the baker and meat from the butcher. Fish and game were sold in shops. Market gardens provided a great variety of vegetables; and orchards had been planted which yielded apples, pears, peaches, and grapes. Even imported fruits, such as oranges and lemons, were not unknown. Tea and coffee were within the reach of the average purse; and while maple sugar continued to be used, sugar for table use was largely

imported. The coming of the railway made a great difference to the Canadian dinner-table, especially in winter. Before it came, an almost inevitable feature of the *menu* of the Canadian dinner during the winter was apple-pie, made of dried apples; but after its advent, this could be varied with other "desserts".

Clothing in 1791 was mainly home-made. Immigrants, *Clothing* it is true, brought in for themselves machine-made clothes, which they had to make last as long as possible; and in the towns the wealthier classes attempted to ape the styles of London. A visitor to Quebec in 1798 has left us a picture of a lady of fashion in that city:

Her hair was frizzed in a mass a yard above her head, increasing in width as it rose in height, the whole covered with *maréchal* [*poudre à la maréchale*] and pink powder, and some decorations of lace and ribbons were scattered about the top, which was surmounted by a splendid plume of ostrich feathers. An immense pair of hoops spread out her dress to the extent of a yard at least on each side, so as to cover the entire length of the sofa on which she was seated, quite erect.

But the great majority of people wore clothing of linsey-woolsey, woven on domestic looms, or even of leather made from the skins of wild animals. Even such a fabric as calico, being imported, was so expensive that only the daughters of well-to-do settlers could hope to have it for their wedding dresses. Footwear, when worn, was generally of the moccasin type. When the militia of Upper Canada assembled to repel the invader in 1812, Isaac Brock noted that "many were without shoes, an article that can scarcely be provided in this country". As late as 1825 a visitor to the London district in Upper Canada noted that "half the men, women, and children . . . walk barefooted all the summer season". By 1867 all this was changed. Both men and women wore

clothing as good as we wear to-day. Woollens, linens, and even silks were imported in large quantities; furs were worn generally in the winter; and only small children went barefoot in the summer.

Dwellings

In such towns as Halifax, Quebec, and Montreal there were in 1791 numbers of well-built houses of stone, brick, and wood, of an architecture hardly inferior to that of to-day. But even these houses were sadly lacking in

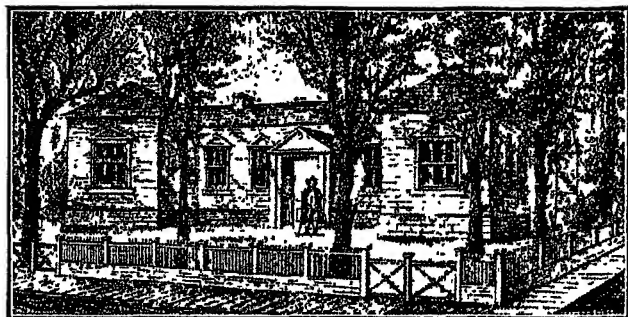


BEAVER HALL HILL, MONTREAL, ABOUT 1830

those conveniences which we nowadays regard as necessary. They were without furnaces or stoves, but were heated by large open fireplaces; and it was at these fireplaces that cooking was done. There was no running water; water was drawn from wells or cisterns. The only baths were metal foot-baths or wooden tubs. The only illumination was from candles or tallow dips. By 1867 furnaces and stoves had come into general use; water-works had been installed in the larger towns; the candle

had given place to the coal-oil lamp; and in a few places gas-works had been established.

It was, however, in the country that the greatest changes took place. The original settlers had at first to put up with the simplest shelters. As late as 1833, a Cambridge graduate who settled in Upper Canada described what he called "the regular routine"—"a wigwam the first week; a shanty till the log-house is up; and



RUSSELL ABBEY, ONE OF THE LARGEST HOUSES IN EARLY TORONTO

the frame, brick, or stone house half-a-dozen years hence". His first dwelling he described thus:

A piece of canvas represented a door, and a hole in the roof the chimney; windows were unnecessary in such a dwelling, for such were the spaces between the logs that, when you were outside at night, and the fire was bright, the shanty bore a striking similitude to a tin lantern. . . . My bed consisted of two buffalo skins, one above and the other below; and empty barrels, chests, etc., served the purposes of chairs and tables.

The furniture in these pioneer cabins was almost invariably home-made; and, indeed, the son of a Loyalist household has testified that the family dinner-table



THREE STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF A CANADIAN FARM-CLEARING

was a huge tree-stump in the middle of the floor, hewn flat. By 1867 these log-cabins were passing away except in the outskirts of settlement; and their places were taken by substantial structures of wood or brick, with outhouses and barns more pretentious sometimes than the homestead itself. The furniture was now factory-made; and there were manufacturers of chairs, tables, desks, and beds in Canada whose work is to-day highly prized and commands high prices.

It was not, however, in the material, but in the spirit- *Educa*
ual or cultural aspects of life that this period saw the greatest advance. In 1791 there was only one institution of higher learning in the whole of British North America—King's College at Windsor in Nova Scotia; and this college had been opened only in 1790. By 1867 there were six universities in the Maritime provinces, two in Lower Canada, and five in Upper Canada—a baker's dozen in all. Everywhere in 1791 elementary education was in a most neglected condition. There was no state-aided system of education; and large numbers of the people of British North America grew up illiterate. What schools existed were taught, as a rule, by discharged soldiers or by cripples who were not fit for any other kind of work. In many schools the only books in use were Bibles and spelling-books. Paper was so scarce that there were cases, in Upper Canada, of birch-bark being used for writing upon. But by 1867, the Reverend Egerton Ryerson, a Methodist minister who had been appointed in 1844 superintendent of education for Upper Canada, had succeeded, after a long struggle, in establishing in that province the principle of free and compulsory education; and schools had sprung up in many places, which were based upon the best models the Old

World afforded. Teachers were specially trained; up-to-date text-books were in use; and schoolrooms had an equipment of blackboards, maps, charts, and books.

*Books and
libraries*

Even the means of obtaining information in Canada in 1791 were slight. Books were conspicuous by their scarcity. There had been a library at the Quebec Seminary (afterwards Laval University) since 1668, but it was chiefly composed of books in French and Latin. An English library had been founded in Quebec and one also in Montreal, in the early days of British rule; but these were small and limited in their use. Except in private libraries, of which there were few of any size, books were practically not available in 1791. By 1867 there were all over Canada circulating libraries, legislative libraries, law libraries, Mechanics' Institute libraries, college and university libraries, school libraries; and in 1864 there had been established in Halifax the first free library in British North America, foreshadowing the free public libraries of to-day. Book-shops had been established in all the chief centres of population; and many private libraries existed which compare favourably with the private libraries of Canada to-day. The country, from being almost bookless, had become better equipped with books than many parts of the Old World.

Journalism

In 1791 there were four newspapers in British North America. There was one each at Halifax, at St. John, at Quebec, and at Montreal. There was no newspaper in Upper Canada. These papers were published only once a week, and carried as a rule, only official news. They were not widely circulated; and a visitor to Kingston, Upper Canada, in 1793, noted that only two copies of the *Quebec Gazette* were subscribed for in that place. By 1867 there were daily newspapers in all the chief centres of population, and weekly newspapers even

in rural communities. These were of all shades of political opinion; and in cities like Montreal and Toronto there were actually more newspapers than there are to-day. Monthly magazines had been established; and, while many of these had died an early death, others had lasted for many years and had reached a creditable degree of excellence.

In 1791 Canadian literature, apart from newspapers, *Literature* was non-existent. By 1867, while still in its infancy, it had made a brave beginning. Judge Haliburton in Nova Scotia had written the inimitable series of books about *Sam Slick, the Clockmaker*, which marked the beginning of American humorous literature. Major John Richardson in Upper Canada had published in *Wacousta* and *The Canadian Brothers* the first notable Canadian novels. English-Canadian poetry had made a beginning with the work of Charles Heavyside, a Montreal journalist; and French-Canadian poetry with the work of Octave Crémazie. In history Canada had produced François Xavier Garneau's *History of Canada*, Robert Christie's *History of Lower Canada*, and Beamish Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia*. Dr. William Canniff was on the point of publishing his *History of the Settlement of Upper Canada*. A great variety of books and pamphlets on religion, law, politics, and even science had issued from the presses of Canada and the Maritime provinces; and the volume of this was such that a bibliography of Canadian literature, published by Henry J. Morgan in 1867, under the title *Bibliotheca Canadensis* (the Canadian Library), filled several hundred pages.

Religious life was in 1791 well organized among the French Canadians of Lower Canada, with whom there was a church and a priest in virtually every parish. But among the English-speaking settlers, both Protestant and *Religious*
life

Roman Catholic, in British North America, there was a great lack of the ministrations of religion. There were Church of England clergymen—who served usually as chaplains to the garrison—in such centres of population as Halifax, Quebec, and Montreal; but there were very few ministers of other denominations in these places. In the whole of Upper Canada there were in 1791 only one Anglican clergyman and one Presbyterian, both of whom had come to Canada as United Empire Loyalists. The settlers in the backwoods had to rely on the ministrations of an itinerant Methodist preacher who had come from the United States. Congregations met in private houses or school-houses; for scarcely any churches or chapels had yet been built. This absence of the ordinances of religion had regrettable results. As late as 1811, a farmer in the Eastern Townships wrote that in this district there were “nearly 2,000 unbaptized children, and more than 600 men and women who live together without being legally married. . . . As for our dead,” he added, “we dispose of them in the same manner as people in other countries do a favourite dog that has died—by laying them to rest under a tree.” In many districts Sunday became like any other day, and the settlers, removed from the restraints of society, fell into evil ways. In particular, excessive indulgence in strong language and strong drink became almost national vices. As a visitor to Upper Canada testified:

*Men learn to drink who never drank before;
And those who always drank, now drink the more.*

By 1867 these conditions had vastly changed. There was hardly a village in the length and breadth of the country which did not have one or more churches; and these had become centres of community life. Sunday schools, unknown in 1791, had grown up in connection

with almost every church. Temperance societies—"cold-water drinking societies", as Colonel Talbot called them—had been established in many communities; and while excessive indulgence in alcoholic liquors was still frequent, it had come under the ban of public opinion. Negro slavery, which had existed in 1791, had also been frowned down by public opinion; capital punishment for theft, which was still in 1791 a feature of the law of England, was soon discountenanced. Prison reform had taken place in Canada, as it had taken place in Great Britain. In a hundred different ways, the long uphill fight waged by the churches in British North America between 1791 and 1867 bore fruit in a higher standard of morality and spiritual life; and what had threatened to become a half-heathen country became largely religious and God-fearing.

Even in the lighter side of life there was an improvement. In 1791 almost the only amusement of the Canadian pioneer was dancing to the sound of the fiddle; but by 1867 the people of Canada has begun to find amusement in health-giving games of sport. In the early forties the game of curling had been introduced in certain Scottish communities, and the game of cricket at some schools. In 1858 a Canadian cricket eleven played against the United States; and in 1859 an English cricket team visited Canada and played at Montreal and Hamilton. Lacrosse, borrowed from the Indians, had begun to be played in Montreal about 1860; and by 1867 baseball had been imported from the United States. Games of this sort did not have the vogue which they have to-day; but they had begun at least to give the idea of play a part in Canadian life.

The economic changes which occurred in Canada between 1791 and 1867, thus brought in their train social

*Amuse-
ments*

*Result of the
economic
and social
revolution*

changes, not only in material things, but also in regard to the things of the mind and the spirit. Not only the physical surroundings, but the mental outlook of the average Canadian was changed. There was, however, one further change—perhaps the most momentous of all—which followed as a result of the economic and social revolution which has been outlined. This was the



CURLING ON THE DON RIVER IN UPPER CANADA, ABOUT 1840

political change which took place between 1791 and 1867; and it must be reserved for separate and fuller treatment.

There are many books which describe the life of the people of Canada at various periods before Confederation, but special reference may be made to Mrs. Moodie's *Roughing it in the Bush* (London, 1852; new ed., Toronto, 1908) and W. A. Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada: The Letters of John Langton* (Toronto, 1928).

§ 4. THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN UPPER CANADA AND THE MARITIME PROVINCES

IN the years following 1791 there occurred in all the provinces of British North America a struggle for a greater degree of self-government; and in Upper and Lower Canada this struggle culminated in actual rebellion. In Lower Canada, however, the situation was complicated by factors peculiar to that province, notably the preponderance of French Canadians in the population. The struggle was seen in its simplest and acutest form in Upper Canada and the Maritime provinces, and it will be well to trace the course of events in these provinces first.

*The British
North
American
provinces*

Colonel Simcoe, the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, had described the constitution given the province by the Act of 1791 as "the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain"; and there was, it is true, a superficial resemblance. The lieutenant-governor represented the king; the Executive Council corresponded to the cabinet; the Legislative Council was intended to be the counterpart of the House of Lords, and the Legislative Assembly of the House of Commons. But in practice the analogy utterly broke down. The king of England was in 1791 already a constitutional ruler dependent in the last analysis on the will of a majority of his people; the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada was an appointee of the Colonial Office, to which—rather than to the people of Upper Canada—he was responsible for his actions, and from which he received his instructions. Whereas the king, moreover, held office for life, and had been trained for his royal task by education and life-long residence in the country, the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada was almost invariably a military man,

*The con-
stitution of
Upper
Canada*

with little training in civil government, and with little knowledge of the province he was to govern—a province in which he expected to spend, as a rule, only a few years.

*The
Executive
Council*

The difference between the provincial Executive Council and the British cabinet was still more profound. Already the chief features of "cabinet government" had been established in England; and the cabinet was composed wholly of heads of departments in the executive government, headed by a first, or prime, minister, all of whom sat in parliament, guided its deliberations, and were responsible to it. The Executive Council of Upper Canada possessed none of these features. Some of its members were heads of departments in the provincial government, but more frequently they were not; and while some of them sat in the Legislative Council, hardly any of them ever sat in the Legislative Assembly. Nor was there among them a first, or prime, minister. Above all, they were responsible, not to the legislature, but to the Colonial Office, to which they, like the lieutenant-governor, owed their appointments. They could not, like the members of the cabinet in England, be ejected from office by a vote of want of confidence passed by the popular branch of the legislature; but they held office during the pleasure of the Crown—which frequently meant for life—and they enjoyed, in actual practice, what almost amounted to the privilege of nominating new members. They were thus in a very strong position; and it was a rare thing for a lieutenant-governor to venture to oppose their will. As a rule, the lieutenant-governor, coming to a province of which he knew nothing, and loath to embroil himself with the official class in it, proved as clay in their hands.

*The
Legislature*

Even between the parliament of Great Britain and the legislature of Upper Canada there were striking differ-

ences. The House of Lords, being composed mainly of hereditary peers, had an independence of the executive government which the Legislative Council of Upper Canada lacked. Though the legislative councillors were appointed virtually for life, they were appointed, as a rule, on the recommendation of the Executive Council, and they tended, consequently, to become the allies or tools of the Executive Council. Their chief function came to be to act as a buffer or breakwater to shield the executive government from the full blast of the wrath of the popular Assembly. As for the Assembly, it was impotent in comparison with the British House of Commons. By 1791 the House of Commons had obtained that control of finance which has been the mainspring of English parliamentary government; and by means of its "power of the purse" it dominated both the executive government and the House of Lords. The Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada had no such power. It controlled the voting of such taxes as were levied by its authority; but these were only a fraction of the provincial budget, and were chiefly devoted to such local improvements as the building of roads and bridges. The customs duties, which were levied under an Act of the imperial parliament, and the casual and territorial revenues of the Crown, such as were derived from the sale of the Crown lands, were under the control of the executive government; and their expenditure had to be accounted for not to the provincial legislature, but to the ministers of the Crown at Westminster. If the Assembly in Upper Canada ventured to withhold supplies, they merely inflicted damage on the districts which elected them; and the executive government was able, by means of the revenues which it controlled, to carry on without the aid of the Assembly.

*The
Family
Compact*

It is not surprising that, under these conditions, there sprang up in Upper Canada a governing or official class—composed of members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, their appointees, and their friends—which administered the affairs of the province at its own pleasure and sometimes in its own interest. To this class was applied the nickname of “the Family Compact”. This term, employed originally to describe the alliances between the crowned heads of Europe in the seventeenth century, was less applicable in Canada than such nicknames usually are. Except for intermarriage in the second generation, there was, as Lord Durham noted, “little of family connection” between the members of the official class in Upper Canada. Nor was there the nepotism that has been often imagined. “My own sons”, testified John Beverley Robinson, one of the guiding spirits of the Family Compact, “have never applied, and I have never applied for them, to the government for any office of any kind, and they none of them receive a shilling from the public revenue of the country in which I have served so long.” On the whole, the members of the governing class of Upper Canada between 1791 and 1837 were an able, honourable, and public-spirited body of men. The Rev. John Strachan, the Scottish schoolmaster who became one of the pillars of the Family Compact, was in some ways a great man; and no finer spirit ever crossed the threshold of Canadian history than John Beverley Robinson, who was hailed by Strachan as “a second Pitt”. A group led by such men hardly deserves the obloquy which has sometimes been heaped upon it.

*Character of
the Family
Compact*

In the nature of things, however, the Family Compact was exclusive, and many of its members were, no doubt, snobbishly so. Social distinctions were drawn more

rigorously a hundred years ago than they are to-day. Consequently, the Family Compact incurred the hostility of many who were outside the charmed circle. The political views of its members, moreover, were strongly tinged with Toryism: they did not believe in democratic government, but thought that government was a matter for the better educated classes. There was nothing remarkable in this at a time when the French Revolution had thrown the whole of Europe into a panicky reaction against radical and republican tendencies. But it so happened that there was, as we have seen, a considerable element in Upper Canada which had come from the United States, where republican ideas were all but universal; and among the Irish and Scottish immigrants there were many who had radical views. Even among the rank and file of the Loyalists there were many who thought that the common people should have a greater voice in their own government. Among all these elements in the population the political exclusiveness of the Family Compact roused opposition; and this opposition very soon became vocal in the elective Legislative Assembly.

The greatest mistake of the Family Compact, however, and that which aroused the bitterest opposition, was its identifying itself with the Church of England. By the Constitutional Act of 1791, the British parliament had authorized the setting aside of one-eighth of all the land granted in Canada as a reserve "for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy", and had authorized the setting up of rectories "according to the establishment of the Church of England". This was interpreted by the government of Upper Canada as being tantamount to the establishment of the Church of England as the state church of Upper Canada. The chaplains of the

*Its
connection
with the
Church of
England*

forces and of the Legislative Assembly were Anglican clergymen. The right of performing marriage was given to the clergy of the Church of England, together with the ministers of such other established churches as the Church of Scotland and the Lutheran Church, but was denied to "non-conformists" such as the Methodists. Education was placed under the ægis of the Church of England; and the first state-aided schools, as well as the first university projected in the province (King's College, afterwards the University of Toronto), were placed at first under distinctively Anglican control. Had the majority of the people of Upper Canada belonged to the Church of England, this might have caused little discontent; but the work of the early Methodist circuit riders had brought within the fold of the Methodist Church large numbers of the early settlers in the province, and the immigration from Ireland and Scotland had added to the population large numbers of Presbyterians and Roman Catholics. The result was that, from an early date, the members of the Church of England were in a decided minority in the province. Richard Cartwright, himself a member of the Church of England, testified that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, "nineteen-twentieths" of the people of Upper Canada did not belong to the Anglican communion; and while this was perhaps an over-estimate, it is certain that members of the Church of England were at all periods after 1791 in a minority even among the Protestants in the province. It was natural that those who did not belong to the Church of England should, under these circumstances, resent the attempt of the Family Compact, nearly all of whom did belong to the Church of England, to give that Church a privileged position.

When political and religious grievances are fused, *Economic grievances* there is likely to be an explosion; but, when to these are added economic grievances, the explosion is almost inevitable. That the Family Compact was not primarily responsible for the economic grievances in the province made little difference. One of these had to do with banking. The Bank of Upper Canada, which had been founded in 1821, was the creature of the Family Compact; and although opposition banks were founded later, none of them seriously competed with it. Its failure to make loans to those in whom it had no confidence naturally aroused discontent; and it is easy to understand that it accommodated members of the governing class oftener than any one else.

Another grievance was connected with the granting of *Land grants* land. During the early days of Upper Canada, free lands were granted with an open hand to the Loyalists, to veterans of the War of 1812, and to others. Since it is said that Peter Russell, the administrator of the province who succeeded Simcoe, granted lands to himself (under the formula, "I, Peter Russell, grant to you, Peter Russell, so many acres in such and such a township"), it has been charged that the members of the Family Compact were guilty of jobbery in granting lands to themselves. Nothing could be farther from the truth. All lands in Upper Canada were granted under schedules laid down by the Colonial Office; and great care was taken that no one received more land than that to which he was legally entitled. But the trouble was that these grants were scattered all over the province, often in the most desirable locations, and that no effort was made to improve them. The consequence was that the province was a chequer-board of improved and unimproved lands, the latter consisting of Crown lands,

clergy reserves, and lands held by speculators or absentee owners; and thus a population of sufficient density to keep up roads, schools, and churches was rendered impossible. The system of granting land in Upper Canada imposed for many years a drag on the wheel of economic progress, and caused bitter discontent; but for this the blame lies, not at the door of the Family Compact, but at that of the Colonial Office. A third economic grievance was the backwardness of Upper Canada as compared with the states of the American Union immediately to the south; but for this, as we have seen, the facts of geography were largely responsible.

*Opposition
to the
Family
Compact*

Opposition to the Family Compact made itself heard at an early date. As early as 1806 a group of malcontents in the province, mostly of Irish birth, to whom was applied the nickname of "the Jacobins", made an onslaught on the administration; but their insurrection was quickly snuffed out. Then came the War of 1812, which purged the province of the disaffected elements. Three years after the close of the war, an eccentric Scottish land-agent, named Robert Gourlay, made another attack on the governing class, and gained considerable popularity among the common people. "He was idolized by the Canadians", wrote a visitor to the country, "as much as ever Bonaparte was by the French." But Gourlay fell foul of the laws of Upper Canada; and after a trial which was not in harmony with modern ideas of justice, however correct it may have been according to the legal ideas of that time, he was banished from the province. It was not until 1825 that any considerable number of the Reformers—as those in opposition to the Family Compact were called—was elected to the Legislative Assembly; and it was only

in 1828 that the Reformers for the first time obtained a majority in the Assembly.

Among the Reformers elected to the legislature of 1828 were several men of outstanding ability. There was Dr. John Rolph, the father of medical education in Upper Canada, Marshall Spring Bidwell, a lawyer of clear and distinguished mind, and Dr. William Warren Baldwin, the father of Robert Baldwin, afterwards the sponsor of responsible government in Canada. But the member of the Reform party in the House of 1830 who was destined to achieve the greatest fame was a little Scottish newspaper editor named William Lyon Mackenzie. Mackenzie had come to Upper Canada only in 1820, but he had not been long in making his mark. In 1824 he had founded a weekly newspaper, the *Colonial Advocate*, in which he proceeded to attack the Family Compact in unmeasured terms. He was a born agitator. In person he was diminutive, with a large head set with burning blue eyes; but he was filled with such a St. Vitus' dance of energy that he was likened by a lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada to "a squirrel in a cage". Fearless to the point of audacity, utterly indifferent to self-interest, and public-spirited according to his lights, he was at the same time master of a fierce and vitriolic invective which, while not always in the best of taste, seldom failed to produce an effect. So offensive was the language he used in the *Colonial Advocate* that in 1826 a number of the young bloods of the Family Compact determined to teach him a lesson in good manners, and invaded his printing-shop, broke up the forms of his newspaper, and threw part of the type into Toronto harbour. Their action was most ill-advised. Mackenzie had been in 1826 on the brink of bankruptcy, but he was now able to obtain in the courts against his

assailants a judgment for heavy damages, which enabled him to continue his career as an agitator; and he became in addition a sort of popular hero. In 1828 he was elected to the House of Assembly as one of the members for the county of York; and in 1834, when York became the city of Toronto, he was elected its first mayor.

*Political
warfare*

In 1830 the Assembly of 1828 came to a sudden termination, because of the death of George IV, which, under the laws of that day, made necessary a new election. In this election the Reformers suffered a severe defeat; and the new House proved to be more Tory than the Family Compact, more royalist than the king. Mackenzie, who had survived the election, was expelled from the House, and was even declared to be incapable of sitting in the House. During the years 1830-35 he was five times elected and five times expelled. Such tactics on the part of the Tories proved disastrous. Mackenzie went to England in 1832, and actually succeeded in securing, to some extent, the sympathy and support of the Colonial Office in his ideas—with the extraordinary result that the Tories of Upper Canada were forced into a position of apparent opposition to the Crown. When, therefore, the elections of 1835 took place, the Tories reaped the fruit of their folly. A Reform majority was returned to the House, and events began to move with astonishing rapidity. Mackenzie, who had been re-elected, was able to take his seat; and he promptly launched against the Family Compact a vigorous offensive. A committee, of which he was chairman, was appointed to investigate grievances; and the report made by this committee—known as the *Seventh Report on Grievances*—embodied the demands of the Reform party. Of these the chief was that the Legislative Council should be made, like the Assembly,

elective by the people. Of the English system of cabinet or responsible government there was no advocacy in the *Seventh Report*; its panacea was the American principle of popular election of executive officers.

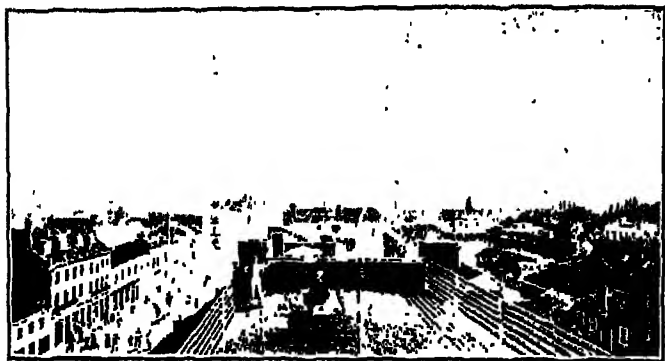
At the beginning of 1836 there came to Upper Canada as lieutenant-governor a new and strange type of man—Sir Francis Bond Head. Head's predecessors had been distinguished soldiers. Sir Peregrine Maitland, lieutenant-governor from 1818 to 1828, had commanded the first brigade of the first division of Wellington's troops at Waterloo. Sir John Colborne, lieutenant-governor from 1828 to 1836, had commanded at Waterloo the regiment which had been largely responsible for the defeat of Napoleon's Old Guard. But Head, though he had been present at Waterloo in a junior capacity, had retired from the army, and was virtually a civilian without experience of high office, either civil or military. He had not been long in the province before he came into collision with the Assembly. The Assembly took the extreme step of refusing to vote supplies; and Sir Francis Bond Head thereupon dissolved it and ordered a new election. Into this election he threw himself as if he were a candidate at the polls; and he frightened the people of Upper Canada into believing that the imperial tie was itself at stake. The result was a landslide which overwhelmed the Reformers. Mackenzie failed of election in the county of York, where he had been for so long a popular idol; and all the other Reform leaders went down to defeat, with the single exception of Dr. Rolph. The Reformers were, in fact, almost driven from the House.

*Sir Francis
Bond Head*

This defeat greatly embittered Mackenzie. Up to this point he had carried on his agitation by constitutional means; but his thoughts now began to turn to

Rebellion

other measures. He began to boast of his "rebel blood". "I am proud", he wrote, "of my descent from a rebel race." During the summer of 1837 he made extensive trips through the back townships of Upper Canada, and obtained the names of several thousand persons who were willing to rise in revolt against the government. The revolt came to a head during the first week of December, 1837. Several hundred rebels gathered, under Mackenzie's leadership, at Montgomery's Tavern on



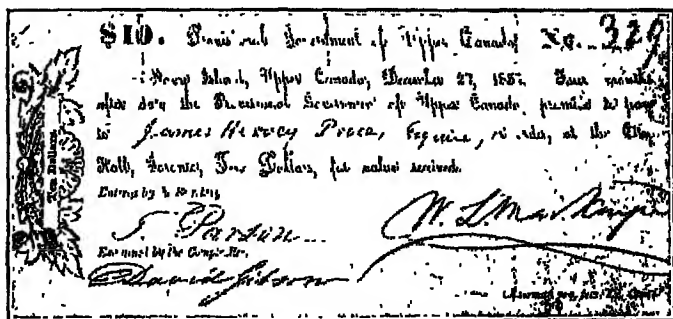
A VIEW OF KING STREET, TORONTO, IN 1837

Yonge Street, north of Toronto, and made a half-hearted attempt to capture the seat of government. The attempt proved, however, a fiasco. The loyal militia flocked into Toronto from the neighbouring districts, and on December 7, after a skirmish in which one man was killed, they scattered the rebels at Montgomery's Farm and snuffed out the rebellion.

*The
aftermath of
rebellion*

Mackenzie escaped by way of the head of Lake Ontario, and succeeded in taking shelter on American soil. There he gathered about him a force of Canadian "patriots"

and American sympathizers, and he set up for a time a provisional government on Navy Island in the Niagara River. During the year 1838 there took place various disturbances along the Canadian border. But the great majority of the people of Upper Canada remained loyal, and the "alarums and excursions" of the rebels and their American confederates produced little effect. In the end, the American authorities put Mackenzie in jail, as a menace to the peace between Canada and the United States; and the trouble died down. Two of the rebel



PAPER MONEY ISSUED BY WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE
AT NAVY ISLAND

leaders who had been captured were executed in Toronto; some others died in prison; and in the western part of the province several were shot down without trial. "I ordered them to be shot, which was done accordingly," wrote the officer commanding the militia in this region. But on the whole the rebellion resulted in the loss of comparatively little life, and was a much less serious affair than has commonly been imagined.

To all appearances, the rebellion left the Family Compact more firmly entrenched in power than ever. *Results of the rebellion*

But appearances are often deceptive. Though the majority of the people of Upper Canada had shown themselves loyal to the British crown and opposed to rebellion, it did not follow that they were favourable to the continuance of Family Compact rule. Large numbers of the more moderate Reformers, such as Marshall Spring Bidwell and Robert Baldwin, had held themselves aloof from Mackenzie, and had even taken arms against him; but they disagreed rather with his methods than with his aims. Robert Baldwin, for instance, had addressed to the Colonial Office in 1836 a memorandum in which he advocated the extension of Canadian self-government by the adoption in Canada of the British system of cabinet or responsible government; and in the years that followed he was destined to champion this idea, in season and out of season, until it finally gained adoption. Its adoption naturally rang the knell of the Family Compact.

*Events in
Nova
Scotia*

The course of events in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was similar to that in Upper Canada, except that here the agitation of the Reformers did not result in armed rebellion. In Nova Scotia, the Council of Twelve, as the Executive Council of the province was popularly known, played a part similar to that of the Family Compact in Upper Canada. It not only controlled the executive government, through its influence over successive governors, but it was able, by means of its supremacy in the Legislative Council, to block legislation of which it did not approve. It was almost synonymous with the board of directors of the Halifax Banking Company, for many years the only bank in the province; and, although Nova Scotia had no Clergy Reserves question, the members of the Council of Twelve were almost to a man adherents of the Church of

England, and regarded that Church as the Established Church of the province. The rule of the Council of Twelve was challenged by Joseph Howe, a native of Halifax who had begun life as a printer's devil and who rose to become the editor of the *Acadian Recorder* and a member of the legislature. Howe was a man of great natural ability. He was a politician who made himself the idol of the people of Nova Scotia, an orator of striking ability, and a poet of no mean pretensions. "Poetry was the maiden I loved," he wrote in later years, "but politics was the harridan I married." No more powerful or eloquent voice was heard in the whole of British North America in advocacy of the cause of colonial self-government. But Howe was thoroughly loyal; and no idea of rebellion ever crossed his mind. He was capable of threatening to "hire a black fellow" to horsewhip a governor with whom he had come into collision; but, apart from such verbal ebullitions as this, he confined his agitation to constitutional channels.

In New Brunswick, the agitation against the govern-
ment was led by Lemuel Allan Wilmot, the son of Loyalist parents; but Wilmot was not elected to the legislature of New Brunswick until 1836, and his agitation had hardly begun when rebellion had broken out in Upper and Lower Canada. Without doubt, the strongly Loyalist character of the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was largely responsible for the absence in these provinces of those extreme and rebellious measures which marked the history of the older provinces.

The political struggle in Upper Canada is described in W. S. Wallace, *The Family Compact* (Toronto, 1915) and Aileen Dunham, *Political Unrest in Upper Canada* (London, 1927). For events in Nova Scotia, consult W. L. Grant, *The Tribune of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1915).

Events in
New
Brunswick

§ 5. THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN LOWER CANADA,
1791-1837

*Character
of the
struggle in
Lower
Canada*

IN Lower Canada the political struggle took on the character, to a large extent, of a struggle between the two peoples by which the province had been settled. "I found", said Lord Durham, when he came to Canada in 1838, "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state; I found a struggle, not of principles, but of race." Here, in fact, the Constitutional Act had given to each race a weapon with which to smite the other. In the Executive and Legislative Councils there were entrenched the English official class, together with those French Canadians who bowed the knee to Baal; whereas in the Legislative Assembly the great body of the French-Canadian people obtained from the first an overwhelming supremacy. To the first legislature there were elected only sixteen English-speaking members as against thirty-four French-speaking members; and the latter immediately chose as speaker of the Assembly a French Canadian who knew very little English, and forced the English-speaking members to recognize French as an official language of the House.

*The
beginnings
of racial
strife*

No open conflict between the two races occurred, however, until after the turn of the century. In 1807 there came to the province, as governor of Canada, Sir James Craig, a veteran of the American Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. A man of transparent simplicity and honesty, he fell under the influence of the official class or "Château clique" in Quebec, who believed that the language, the laws, and the religion of the French Canadians should be suppressed. In 1806 some of the French Canadians had established in Quebec a newspaper, *Le Canadien*, for the defence of their language, laws, and institutions. Sir James Craig, incensed at the

language used by this newspaper, suppressed it and threw three of its editors into jail. He did not dare, however, to bring them to trial on a charge of sedition, because his action had so roused the French Canadians that no jury would have convicted them. In the end he had to release two of them on a promise of good behaviour; and the third, Pierre Bédard, a future judge of Lower Canada, was so much ahead of Sir James Craig in his knowledge of English law that he refused to leave the prison until he had been tried and acquitted, and, consequently, had to be ejected from jail at the point of the bayonet. At the same time, Craig came into conflict with the French-Canadian majority in the Assembly over the question of finance. In Lower Canada, as in Upper Canada, the revenue voted by the Assembly was greatly exceeded by the expenditure; and the balance was made up from the customs duties and other revenues of the Crown controlled by the executive government—a fact which was frankly regarded by those in authority as “a fortunate circumstance”, since it robbed the Assembly of the power of dictating to the executive. The French-Canadian majority in the legislature, grasping this fact, offered in 1810 to undertake to vote the money to pay for the whole cost of the administration; but their offer was rejected by the governor on a technicality. This “Trojan horse”, he said, was not to gain admission to the walls through him.

The outburst of racial bitterness which marked the régime of Sir James Craig proved, however, only momentary. Craig returned to England in 1811, conscious to some extent that his policy had been mistaken; and he was succeeded by Sir George Prevost, who adopted a policy of conciliation of the French Canadians. So successful was Prevost that, when the War of 1812

*A bull and
a revival
of strife*

broke out, the French Canadians proved as loyal as any part of the population, and a good deal more loyal than many of the people of Upper Canada. On more than one field of battle they fought shoulder to shoulder with English Canadians in repelling the American invader; and it seemed as though, amid the alarms of war, the racial conflict had been forgotten. It was, in fact, ten years after the beginning of the War of 1812 before the racial struggle broke out afresh; and the blame for this lay almost wholly at the door of the ultra-English element in the province. These people had never reconciled themselves to the ascendancy which the French Canadians possessed in the Assembly; and in 1822 they attempted to bring about a union of Upper and Lower Canada, with a view to submerging the French-Canadian vote with the combined vote of the English in Upper and Lower Canada. A bill was actually introduced into the British House of Commons for this purpose; and in this bill it was proposed that after a few years the French language should be proscribed in the united legislature. The French got wind of the plot. They promptly sent to England a delegation of two members of the legislature to protest against the proposed measure; and the plot collapsed, though not without leaving in its train a legacy of bitterness and hatred hitherto unknown.

*Louis-
Joseph
Papineau*

One of the delegation which went to England in 1822 was a French Canadian who was destined to play an outstanding part in the history of Canada during the next fifteen years, and indeed later. His name was Louis-Joseph Papineau. Papineau was a member of the French-Canadian seigniorial class. His father had helped to defend Quebec in 1775, and he himself had served as a major in the militia during the War of 1812. In 1814 he

was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly, and in 1815 he was chosen as its Speaker. A man of commanding personality and striking eloquence, he dominated the Assembly from the Speaker's chair; and he continued to preside over the Assembly's deliberations almost continuously from 1815 to 1837. During his earlier years he was an admirer of British institutions. As late as 1820 he praised publicly the blessings of British rule in Canada. But the attempt of the English official element in Lower Canada to bring about the union of the two provinces in 1822 profoundly altered his attitude. He became bitterly, and even unreasonably, antagonistic to the executive government of Lower Canada; he came to be an admirer of republican institutions; and ultimately he reached the point where, if he did not actually plan revolution, he at any rate acquiesced in it.

It would be tedious to unravel here the tangled skein of Lower Canadian politics between 1822 and 1837. All that can be done is to indicate the causes that brought about the rebellion of 1837. The first of these was the personal warfare which Papineau, from the Speaker's chair, waged against successive governors. The governor of Canada in 1823, when Papineau returned from England, was the Earl of Dalhousie, who had succeeded as governor in 1819 that Duke of Richmond of whose ball in Brussels on the eve of Waterloo Lord Byron wrote,

*Causes of
the rebellion
in Lower
Canada*

*There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gathered then
Her Beauty and her Chivalry, and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men.*

Lord Dalhousie was a Scottish nobleman of the best type. It was he who founded in 1824 the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec—the first and the oldest of Canadian learned societies; and he showed his desire

for pleasant relations between the two races in Canada by erecting in the governor's garden at Quebec the joint monument to Wolfe and Montcalm, with its happy legend:

MORTEM VIRTUS COMMUNEM
FAMAM HISTORIA
MONUMENTUM POSTERITAS
DEDIT

But Papineau, embittered by the revelation of the union plot of 1822, could see no good in Dalhousie, and attacked him in language which, we are told, recalled in violence the philippics of Demosthenes and the Catilinarian orations of Cicero. Dalhousie felt that he could have no relations with a man who had publicly insulted him; and when Papineau was re-elected to the Speakership of the Assembly in 1827, Dalhousie refused to recognize him as Speaker, and dissolved the House. In 1828 Dalhousie was recalled; but Papineau was not placated. With Lord Aylmer, who came out as governor in 1830, he quarrelled even more furiously than he had with Dalhousie. When in 1832 an election riot took place in Montreal, and the troops were compelled to fire on the rioters, Papineau accused Aylmer of having planned a "massacre". "Craig", he said on the floor of the House, "merely imprisoned his victims, but Aylmer slaughters them." To such a height did feeling rise that, when the province was swept in 1833 by Asiatic cholera, Papineau and his friends accused the governor of having "enticed the sick immigrants into the country, in order to decimate the ranks of the French Canadians". Even when in 1835 the British government sent out to Canada a genial Irish peer, the Earl of Gosford, as governor, with instructions to try to conciliate the French Canadians, Papineau remained implacable. The trouble with him

and his friends was that they lacked that spirit of compromise which has been the saving grace of English political life.

A more fundamental source of unrest, however, was the financial question. In 1818 the British government had offered to surrender to the Assembly the control of the whole of the provincial revenue, except the casual and territorial revenues of the Crown and some other revenues derived from taxes imposed by imperial legislation, on condition that the Assembly should vote a permanent civil list—that is, permanent salaries for the officers of government. But the Assembly had insisted on voting the salaries of the officers of government for one year only, in the hope, no doubt, that they would thereby put these officers at their mercy; but the Legislative Council had thrown out the budget, and the proposed reform had failed. Twelve years later, under Lord Aylmer, this offer was renewed on still more generous terms; but this time it was flatly rejected by Papineau and his supporters. From 1833 to 1836 the budget failed of adoption either in the Legislative Assembly, or—because of the conditions attached to it—in the Legislative Council. The result was seen in widespread distress among the public servants. There was not enough money in the provincial exchequer to pay for the upkeep of government. Salaries were either unpaid or paid in debentures that sold below par. The executive government was becoming bankrupt. Under these circumstances, the British parliament in the spring of 1837, by the famous “Ten Resolutions” introduced by Lord John Russell, authorized the payment of moneys out of the provincial exchequer without reference to the Assembly—an action which was tantamount to a partial suspension of the constitution of the province.

*The
platform of
the
"Patriotes"*

By this time Papineau and his friends had formulated their platform. In the session of 1834 they had put through the Assembly the "Ninety-Two Resolutions" which embodied their views, as the *Seventh Report on Grievances* had embodied the views of the Reformers in Upper Canada. These resolutions enumerated a great number of grievances, real and imaginary. Among them, said a critic in the *Quebec Mercury*, eleven stood true; six contained both truth and falsehood; sixteen stood wholly false; seventeen seemed doubtful, and twelve ridiculous; seven were repetitions; fourteen consisted only of abuse; four were both false and seditious; and the remainder were indifferent. There was nothing in the resolutions which could be construed into advocacy of the idea of responsible government. The only remedy suggested was the application of the elective principle to the Legislative Council; and one of the resolutions contained a scarcely veiled threat of rebellion. This resolution ran thus:

This House would esteem itself wanting in candour to Your Majesty if it hesitated to call Your Majesty's attention to the fact that in less than twenty years, the population of the United States of America will be greater than that of Great Britain, and that of British America will be greater than that of the former British colonies, when the latter deemed that the time had come to decide that the inappreciable advantage of being self-governed ought to engage them to repudiate a system of colonial government which was, generally speaking, much better than that of British America now is.

*The
outbreak
of
rebellion*

Such language alienated from Papineau even the support of some of his associates; and it is not certain that even Papineau himself ever wished to proceed to the extremity of rebellion. But having raised the wind, he could not ride the whirlwind. His more youthful and reckless supporters carried him into a course of which

he perhaps never wholly approved. When word reached the province, in the summer of 1837, that the Russell resolutions had sounded the death-knell of the hopes of the *patriotes*, as Papineau's supporters called themselves, one of his lieutenants, Dr. Wolfred Nelson, avowed that the time had come "to melt our spoons into bullets". All during the summer and autumn of 1837 a revolutionary agitation was carried on in Montreal and the adjacent parishes; and at the beginning of November, 1837, rebellion actually broke out.



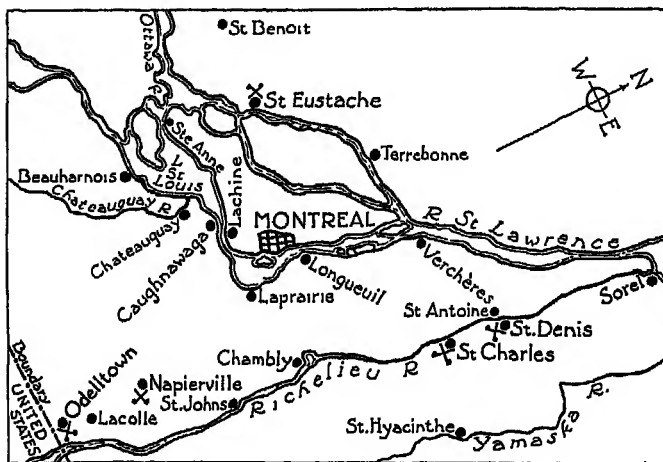
THE BATTLE OF ST. CHARLES

From Lord C. Beaulierk, *Lithographic Views of Military Operations in Canada*
(London, 1840)

The outbreak of rebellion was, to some extent, an accident. Rioting broke out in Montreal between the members of the Doric Club, an organization of the young men of British blood in the city, and the French-Canadian "Sons of Liberty"; and a representative of the Roman Catholic Church waited on Papineau, and suggested

*The events
of 1837
and 1838*

that, in the interests of public order, he should leave the city. Papineau accepted his advice, with the most unfortunate results. The British authorities in Montreal thought that he had left the city with the object of stirring up a revolt in the parishes; and they promptly issued warrants for his arrest and that of some of his lieutenants. The execution of these warrants the patriotes determined to resist. In the Richelieu valley, to which Papineau had gone, large numbers of the habitants



THE REBELLION IN LOWER CANADA, 1837-38

gathered under arms. At St. Denis they repulsed a column of troops sent to disperse them; but a week later the rebels concentrated at St. Charles on the Richelieu were scattered by another column, and the insurrection in the Richelieu valley collapsed. Papineau took no part in the fighting, and after the engagement at St. Charles, escaped to the United States, leaving to their fate the unfortunate peasants who had risen to defend

him. Two weeks later another outbreak occurred at the village of Ste. Eustache north of Montreal, under a brave French-Canadian doctor named Chénier; but this, too, was easily crushed by a force of British troops and Canadian militia from Montreal, and the gallant Chénier and many of his followers lost their lives. On the whole, the rebellion of 1837 in Lower Canada was a proceeding almost criminally insane. It was confined to but two districts near Montreal; it met from the first with the stern disapproval of the Roman Catholic Church; and it never had even a reasonable chance of success. Unfortunately, it resulted, unlike the rebellion in Upper Canada, in a considerable loss of life and in much destruction of property, for the latter of which the loyalist militia, it must be confessed, were chiefly responsible. There was so much burning and plundering of rebel property that Sir John Colborne, the British commander-in-chief, was nicknamed "the Old Firebrand"; and this feature of the rebellion was destined to have important consequences in the future.

Pre-rebellion days in Lower Canada are treated in A. D. De Celles, *The Patriotes of '37* (Toronto, 1916).

§ 6. THE FIGHT FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

THAT the year 1837, which was the first year of the reign of the young Queen Victoria, should have been marred by rebellion in both the Canadas, profoundly shocked English public opinion; and the Melbourne government, which was then in power, was roused to take measures to meet the emergency. The constitution of Lower Canada was suspended for three years; authority was granted for setting up in the province a Special Council of nominated members; and the governor-generalship of British North America was offered to the

*The action
of the
British
government*

Earl of Durham, one of the leading British statesmen of that day, with the title of "Lord High Commissioner", and with instructions to investigate the causes of the rebellion, and to report on remedies.

*Lord
Durham*

Lord Durham was at first loath to accept this offer. The Canadas had been for many years a graveyard of reputations; and Lord Durham's health was not good. But at the personal request of the young Queen, Durham undertook the invidious task imposed on him; and while it was an unhappy day for him when he did so, it was a happy day for Canada. His was almost an ideal appointment. A great Whig nobleman, with proud and fastidious manners and a dramatic sense of the value of pomp and circumstance, he was raised far above the petty passions of colonial politics; and yet he was, strange to say, a man of profound liberal, if not radical, tendencies. At one time he had been hailed as the coming leader of the Chartist movement, and he had won the *sobriquet* of "Radical Jack". He had, moreover, the invaluable faculty of gathering about him able assistants; and he had himself an insight into politics which amounted to genius.

*Lord
Durham
in Canada*

Lord Durham arrived in Canada in the spring of 1838. His arrival was witnessed by a future Canadian historian who has left us this picture of him:

His Lordship wore a red coat with two stars and silver epaulettes, etc., and a broad red scarf and a cocked hat. He rode a very stately black horse.

The first problem with which he had to deal was that of the political prisoners who filled the jails of Montreal. With wise leniency he issued a general amnesty, excepting from it only eight ringleaders of the rebellion, whom he banished to Bermuda. This action had a most beneficial effect in Lower Canada; but it was attacked by

some of Durham's enemies in England as exceeding his legal powers, and the Melbourne government did not give him the support which he had a right to expect. With proud impetuosity, he promptly resigned, and one of the results of his resignation was the outbreak, at the end of 1838, of a second rebellion in Lower Canada—a rebellion chiefly engineered by those patriotes who had fled to the United States—which was ruthlessly crushed by Sir John Colborne. But Durham said that he "would take shame to himself" if he did not stay long enough to complete the investigation he had undertaken, and he did not leave Canada until November, 1838. During the five months of his stay in the country, he made a most exhaustive survey of the situation; and his conclusions he embodied in 1839 in his famous *Report on the Affairs of British North America*.

Lord Durham's *Report* is the greatest state paper ever issued by the Colonial Office. With unerring precision it went to the root of the trouble in all the provinces. "It is difficult to understand", he wrote, "how any English statesman could have imagined that representative and irresponsible government could be successfully combined." With regard to the racial struggle in Lower Canada, he came to the conclusion that "it must henceforth be the first and steady purpose of the British government to establish an English population, with English laws and language, in this province, and to trust its government to none but a decidedly English legislature". Durham's chief recommendations were therefore two. He advocated the introduction in the provinces of British North America of the English system of cabinet or responsible government, to this extent, at least, that the people of these provinces should enjoy complete self-government in all matters which did not

Lord
Durham's
Report

affect what he regarded as "strictly imperial interests"—such as the form of government, military defence, crown lands, and customs duties. But, since he distrusted the French Canadians, he urged the union of Upper and Lower Canada, so that in the legislature of the united province the nationalistic aspirations of the French Canadians might be kept in check by an English majority. Among his other recommendations were those looking toward the building of an inter-colonial railway, and the introduction of municipal institutions, without which no form of self-government would be complete. But Responsible Government and Union were the two key-notes of his *Report*.

*Durham
and the
French*

In his attitude toward the French Canadians, Durham was undoubtedly unfair. He underestimated their fundamental loyalty to the British Empire—a loyalty strikingly described a few years later by Sir Etienne Taché (who had served in the war of 1812) when he said that "the last gun fired in defence of the English power in America would be fired by a French Canadian". But in his advocacy of the principle of responsible government he was a prophet and a pioneer of the British Empire of to-day. It matters little that the sphere in which he proposed that responsible government should operate was comparatively narrow, for his conception of "strictly imperial interests" included many things which we regard to-day as being interests purely Canadian. The important thing is that he first enunciated, in an official pronouncement, the principle of responsible government; and though a number of years were to elapse before the principle was finally and definitely accepted, he deserves honour as its first official exponent.

*Lord
Sydenham*

The British government accepted Lord Durham's *Report*, and they appointed in 1839 Charles Poulett

Thomson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, as governor-general of Canada, to carry out, as far as possible, Lord Durham's recommendations. Poulett Thomson was an adroit and brilliant English politician. He was, as he described himself, "an old parliamentary hand", and he had been president of the Board of Trade in the British cabinet. He was, therefore, well equipped to deal with the intricacies of Canadian politics; and indeed he may be said to have taught Canadian politicians something about their own game, and to have founded in Canada a political school. His first task was to bring about the union of Upper and Lower Canada. In Lower Canada this task presented no difficulty, since the Special Council appointed by Lord Durham in that province was composed of nominees of the Crown; but the difficulty of persuading the Family Compact in Upper Canada to agree to union seemed almost insuperable. The collapse of the rebellion of 1837 had left the Tories in Upper Canada in undisputed supremacy; and they were not anxious to see any changes which would threaten this supremacy. In particular, they were unwilling to see a union of the Canadas which might mean the transference of the capital from Toronto to Kingston, Montreal, or Quebec. But Poulett Thomson did not despair. He came to Toronto, entertained lavishly, worked on all with whom he came into contact, and eventually persuaded the legislature of Upper Canada to accept the proposal of union, on condition that the united province assumed the public debt of Upper Canada, which was much larger than that of Lower Canada. The Family Compact, far from being the unprogressive and reactionary body of men commonly imagined, had strained the resources of the province in building roads, bridges, canals, and other public works, and had thus contracted

a public debt which was a heavy burden. The chance of making the lower province share in the burden of this debt proved too much for the legislative representatives of Upper Canada; and they therefore passed the union proposals of Poulett Thomson by a narrow majority. These proposals were embodied in the Act of Union of 1840, which was passed by the British parliament and came into operation in 1841.

*Sydenham's
"System"*

Having achieved the union of the two provinces, Lord Sydenham (as Poulett Thomson now became) next turned to carrying into effect in some measure Lord Durham's recommendation of responsible government. Neither he nor the Colonial Office, it is true, were prepared to go as far in this respect as Lord Durham would have gone. They did not believe that the governor could devolve his responsibility on any one else, and they took the view that his council was a "council to be consulted, and no more". But they were willing to adopt responsible government in the sense that the executive council should be responsible to the legislature. Sydenham drew the members of his council from the legislature, and entrusted them with the charge of departments of the government, so that the council came to resemble closely the cabinet in England. The only difference was that there was under Sydenham no prime minister. Sydenham, in fact, was his own prime minister. Like William III and Queen Anne in England, he chose his own ministers, he presided over the council meetings, and he prepared the legislative programme. To a large extent, he set up in Canada the machinery of cabinet government, without at the same time admitting fully the principles implied in it.

*Defects of
the system*

This system was admirably suited for bridging the transition from the old colonial constitution to the new

régime of full responsible government. Canadians were fortunate in having in Sydenham a past master in the art of British politics to instruct them in the niceties of cabinet government. At the same time, it must be confessed that Sydenham's system was destined sooner or later to break down. So long as he was able to find an executive council in harmony both with himself and with the Legislative Assembly, all went well; and during his brief career in Canada he succeeded, by means of his marvellous facility in managing men, in preserving this harmony. When, in the early autumn of 1841, he died suddenly from the effects of a fall from his horse, his success seemed complete. But had he lived longer, it is probable, as was later said by a distinguished Canadian politician, that "Sydenham's success would have been short-lived". Not even his adroitness could have preserved indefinitely the unstable equilibrium between himself, his council, and the Assembly; and his successors were left to deal with what was really an impossible situation.

The governor who immediately succeeded Sydenham was Sir Charles Bagot. Bagot was not, like Sydenham, a practical politician, but had received his training in the diplomatic service. He had been British ambassador to the United States, and had been largely instrumental in 1818 in bringing about the Rush-Bagot convention, whereby armed vessels were barred from the Great Lakes. He found in power the administration which Sydenham had formed. But it was not long before the inevitable happened, and the administration lost control of the Assembly. Bagot tried to bring about a reconstruction of the government, but without success. None of the leaders of the triumphant opposition in the Assembly would accept office with any of the old ministry. Bagot

*Sir Charles
Bagot*

thereupon took in 1842 the bold step of accepting the resignation of the ministry, and inviting the Reform leaders, Robert Baldwin and Louis Lafontaine, to form an administration. Baldwin was the leader of the Reformers of Upper Canada, and had been one of the earliest advocates of responsible government; whereas Lafontaine was the leader of the French Canadians of Lower Canada, who had been excluded by Sydenham from any representation in the government. Bagot was wise enough to see that the French Canadians could not be excluded indefinitely from power. "You cannot", he said, "rule this country without the French." His action created consternation in Great Britain, and the Duke of Wellington, who was a relative of Bagot's, exclaimed, "What a fool the man has been . . . and what a bother he makes about his policy and his measures, when there are no measures but rolling himself and his country in the mire". But the deed was done. The British government had to accept the situation; and the principle of responsible government—the principle that the government of the day must command a majority in the Assembly—was accepted in practice.

Bagot's ill-health

Bagot remained in office for nearly two years. But during the greater part of this time he suffered from severe ill-health; and he was, consequently, often unable to preside at council meetings, as Sydenham had done. Under these circumstances, there developed in Canada the office of a first, or prime, minister, just as the office of prime minister had grown up in England a century before, as a result of the failure of George I and George II to preside over council meetings, for different reasons. Robert Baldwin, as the senior member of the first Baldwin-Lafontaine administration, may be regarded as the first Canadian prime minister; and thus another link

was forged in the chain of responsible government in Canada.

Unhappily, Sir Charles Bagot's health grew so bad in 1843 that he was compelled to resign the governorship, and died only two months after the arrival of his successor, Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe. Metcalfe was a man of sterling character who had gained a great reputation as an administrator in India and Jamaica. "He was", said Lord Macaulay, "the ablest civil servant I ever knew in India." He came to Canada prepared to carry out Bagot's policy. But he lacked Bagot's willingness to recognize facts. Like Sydenham, he was not prepared to devolve his responsibility on his council. They were "a council to be consulted, and no more". Indeed, on occasion, he did not consult them at all. It was not long, therefore, before his council and he came to an *impasse*. He appointed to his personal staff, without consulting his ministers, a French Canadian who was personally obnoxious to Lafontaine. Baldwin and Lafontaine therefore waited upon him, and demanded that he should refer all appointments to them. This Metcalfe declined to do, accusing his ministers—with some justice—of demanding that the political patronage of the Crown should be surrendered into their hands "for the purchase of political support". Baldwin and Lafontaine thereupon resigned, and Metcalfe was compelled to struggle along for months with only one secretary of state. After interminable negotiations, he succeeded finally in getting together a Conservative administration, headed by W. H. Draper, one of Sydenham's ministers, in which were included several French Canadians, including a brother of Louis-Joseph Papineau. Then he dissolved the Assembly, and with his new ministry he appealed to the country in 1844.

*The
election
of 1844*

The election was one of unparalleled bitterness. The Reformers felt that the principle of Canadian self-government was at stake, and did not hesitate to attack Metcalfe—to whom they referred opprobriously as “Old Square-Toes”—without mercy. The Conservatives, on the other hand, believed that the continuance of Canada in the Empire was at stake, and they raised against the Reformers the old cry of disloyalty which has done service on so many occasions in Canadian history. In the result several factors played a part. One was the personal character of Metcalfe, who with heroic fortitude had stuck to his post in the face of the inroads of a malignant disease, and who endeared himself to nearly every one with whom he came into contact. Another was the influence of Egerton Ryerson, a Methodist minister of United Empire Loyalist stock, who had a great hold over his co-religionists, and who came out strongly in Metcalfe's favour. When the poll was completed, it was found that Metcalfe's new ministry was returned to power by a small but workable majority; and that Canada did not want complete responsible government if there was any danger of its involving disloyalty to the mother country.

*Lord
Cathcart*

Shortly after the election, Metcalfe, who had been raised to the peerage in recognition of his services, was compelled to resign. He returned to England, and there he died in 1846, following to the grave Durham, Sydenham, and Bagot—all of whom, like him, had laid down their lives, with a strange fatality, in the service of the Canadian people. His place was taken by the Earl of Cathcart, the commander-in-chief of the forces in Canada, a soldier who concerned himself little with politics, and who succeeded in carrying on uneventfully with Metcalfe's ministry until he was relieved of his task

in 1847 by one of the greatest governors Canada has ever had—the Earl of Elgin.

When Lord Elgin came to Canada, a great change had come over the situation. In 1846 the principles of the “Manchester School” had won in the British parliament an epoch-making victory with the adoption of free trade in wheat. In Canada, as we have seen, this event had important results; but these were not confined to trade. The principle of *laissez-faire*, or governmental non-intervention, applied first to trade, spread rapidly to other spheres, and in particular to colonial government. Here it brought about the removal of the last scruples about the granting of responsible government in Canada; and Lord Elgin was authorized to accept responsible government without reservations, so far as domestic politics in Canada were concerned. These instructions, moreover, were in harmony with his own desires. He was Lord Durham’s son-in-law; and he was anxious to vindicate his father-in-law’s memory. “The real and effectual vindication of Lord Durham’s memory and proceedings,” he wrote, “will be the success of a governor-general of Canada who works out his views of government fairly.” Indeed, in one respect, Elgin went farther than Durham. Like Bagot, he was willing to trust the French Canadians. “I for one”, he wrote, “am deeply convinced of the impolicy of all such attempts to denationalize the French . . . Let them feel, on the other hand, that their religion, their habits, their prepossessions, their prejudices, if you will, are more considered and respected here than in other portions of this vast continent, who will venture to say that the last hand which waves the British flag on American ground may not be that of a French Canadian?”

*Elgin's
policy*

The ministry formed by Metcalfe was still in office when Elgin reached Canada at the end of 1847. He gave to them a cordial and loyal support; but he made it clear that he would give an equally cordial and loyal support to their opponents, should they gain control of the Assembly. As a matter of fact, the ministry was at this time tottering to its fall; and in 1848 it was compelled to go to the country in a general election. In this election the Reformers triumphed by a comfortable majority. Elgin thereupon accepted the resignation of his advisers, and immediately invited Robert Baldwin and Louis Lafontaine to form a government. Thus there came into power in 1848 the second Baldwin-Lafontaine administration—sometimes called “the Great Ministry”—and under this ministry full responsible government in Canada came finally and irrevocably into operation.

*The
“Rebellion
losses”*

It was not immediately that even many Canadians realized that a new era had dawned. The colonial spirit died hard; and the Tories in particular found it difficult to realize that the day was gone when they might look to the Colonial Office and the governor-general to aid them in combating what they regarded as the disloyalty of the Reformers. The tug-of-war came over a bill introduced into the Assembly in 1849 for the payment of what were known as the “Rebellion losses”. During the rebellions of 1837 and 1838 there had been destroyed a good deal of property, both of loyalists and of rebels. Loyalists who had suffered losses in Upper Canada had already been indemnified; and it was now proposed to indemnify those who had suffered losses in Lower Canada. It was, however, difficult to distinguish in Lower Canada between those who had been loyal and those who had been rebels, since only a few of the rebels

had been brought to trial; and it was complained that the Rebellion Losses Bill would enable both to obtain compensation. Louis Lafontaine proposed—so the Conservatives objected—to reward his fellow-countrymen for rebelling against the Queen. Lord Elgin himself was not wholly satisfied with the safeguards introduced into the bill; and, had he been a member of the Canadian legislature, he might have voted against it. But as governor-general he realized that the time had come to put his ideas about responsible government to the test. When the legislature of Canada passed the bill, and his constitutional advisers advised him to assent to it, he saw no alternative but to accept their advice.

The result was an amazing outbreak of violent feeling. *The riots of 1848*
The mob of Montreal, where the legislature was sitting, was at that time mainly English; and it broke out in prolonged rioting. When Elgin came down to the House to assent to the bill, he was subjected to "boo's" and hisses and a fusillade of rotten eggs. That night the Parliament Buildings were burned to the ground. A week later, when Elgin came down to receive an address of loyalty from the House, he was again attacked, and this time with huge stones which drove in every panel of his carriage. For days he was compelled to stand siege in his house at Monklands; and when some of the ladies of his household went to church on Sunday, they were insulted in the streets. Elgin would have been justified in calling out the troops; but he was resolved that no blood should be shed by him. He merely waited for the storm to die down. In the end his moderation justified itself. The anger of the Tories spent itself; and people began to see the folly of blaming the governor-general for assenting to what the duly elected representatives of the Canadian people had, by a substantial

majority, approved. Some of the Tories, in 1849, in their anger signed a manifesto advocating the annexation of Canada to the United States; but this was no more than comparable, as one of the signers of the manifesto afterwards confessed, to the act of "a petulant child who strikes his nurse". Since Lord Elgin's day no party in Canada has ever questioned the principle of responsible government. It was he who first taught Canadians to govern themselves.



THE BURNING OF THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS IN
MONTREAL IN 1849

From a contemporary print

*The extension of
responsible
government*

The principle of responsible government still operated in 1849 in a comparatively narrow sphere. There were as yet at that time many matters which were regarded as "strictly imperial interests"—such as trade relations and foreign policy. An important phase of the history of Canada since that time has been the widening of the sphere in which responsible government has operated. In 1849 the last vestiges of the Navigation Acts were

swept away, and Canadian export trade became free. Ten years later Canada, by setting up a tariff against (among other countries) the mother country, asserted in the most dramatic manner her fiscal independence. Later, she asserted gradually her right to share in the foreign policy of the Empire, to make her own treaties, to control her own army and navy, and even to occupy her own seat in the League of Nations. But for the final establishment of the principle of responsible government, she has to thank Lord Elgin.

Consult J. I. Morison, *British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government* (Toronto, 1919) and C. Martin, *Empire and Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1929). The best edition of Lord Durham's *Report* is that edited by Sir Charles Lucas (3 vols., Oxford, 1912). An excellent life of Durham is that by C. New (Oxford, 1929), and of Sydenham that by A. Shortt (Toronto, 1908). For Bagot, see G. Glazebrook, *Sir Charles Bagot in Canada* (Oxford, 1929). George M. Wrong, *The Earl of Elgin* (London, 1905) contains the most readable account of Lord Elgin's work in Canada.

§ 7. PARTY GOVERNMENT, AND ITS BREAKDOWN

ONE of the conditions essential to the most effective working of the English system of cabinet or responsible government is the existence of two coherent and well-organized political parties. One of these is needed to provide the necessary support for the government, the other to provide an effective opposition. In 1849 this two-party system was lacking in Canada. It is true that the Baldwin-Lafontaine administration was supported by those members who were described as Liberals, and opposed by those described as Conservatives; and these party labels were supposed then, as now, to correspond with two tendencies in human nature. But in actual practice party alignments in 1849 were very loosely drawn. Among the Upper Canadian members of the

*Political
groups in
Canada*

legislature there were four distinct groups. The opposition contained two groups—the High Tories or remnant of the Family Compact, and the moderate Conservatives; and while the majority of the Liberals—known as “Baldwin Liberals”—supported the government, there was also among them a more radical group, which came to be known as the “Clear Grits”—from the flattering description of them as “all sand and no dirt, clear grit all the way through”. In Lower Canada there were three groups—the English element in Montreal and the Eastern Townships, who held aloof from all the Upper Canadian groups; the great majority of the French Canadians, nominally Liberal but actually Conservative, in outlook; and a small but growing group of French-Canadian radicals, who came later to be known as the *parti rouge*.

*The defeat
of the
Reformers*

The task of carrying on a responsible government under these rather chaotic conditions proved too much for two such idealists as Baldwin and Lafontaine. The extremist groups among their supporters demanded the secularization of the clergy reserves and the abolition in Lower Canada of the seigniorial tenure; but neither of these measures met with the complete approval of Baldwin and Lafontaine. Lafontaine, especially, preferred to let sleeping dogs lie. The lack of harmony among the Upper Canadian supporters of the government became such that in 1851 Baldwin resigned in disgust and retired to private life. Shortly afterwards Lafontaine took refuge on the bench; and the government was reconstructed under the leadership of Francis (afterwards Sir Francis) Hincks, a Liberal of a more practical turn of mind, and A. N. Morin, a follower of Lafontaine. But the Hincks-Morin administration, though it did

much good work in railway-building and other business-like projects, failed also to deal with the vexed questions of the clergy reserves and the seigniorial tenure; and in 1854 it was defeated by the combined efforts of the Conservatives and the radicals from both provinces. Among the latter were both William Lyon Mackenzie and Louis-Joseph Papineau, who had been allowed to return to Canada under an amnesty granted by the Canadian legislature, and who had both re-entered the legislature, though neither ever regained here the commanding position he had once enjoyed.

The defeat of the Hincks-Morin government created a situation out of which emerged the two-party system of government which, on the whole, has prevailed in Canada from that day to this. The politician to whom Lord Elgin applied to form a government in 1854 was Sir Allan MacNab, the leader of the High Tory group. But MacNab had only a handful of followers of his own political stripe; and he immediately enlisted the support of the leader of the moderate conservatives from Upper Canada, a young Kingston lawyer named John A. Macdonald. Macdonald was a politician of great natural ability. Though he owed little to either birth or fortune, and was largely self-educated, he was, like Lord Sydenham, a past master in the art of managing men. He had long foreseen the situation which now arose; and he had laid his plans accordingly. Realizing that the French Canadians were at heart essentially Conservative, he had made a point of establishing with them cordial relations; and when MacNab called on him for help in forming a government, he held in his hands the key to the situation. With an adroitness which even Sydenham might have envied, he brought about a union or coalition of groups which gave the

The Liberal-Conservative party founded

new government a solid majority. With the High Tories and the Conservatives of Upper Canada he persuaded the so-called Liberals of Lower Canada to unite, while he obtained the general support of the English element in Lower Canada; and he finally won over also the moderate or Baldwin Liberals of Upper Canada, with the approval of both Robert Baldwin and Francis Hincks. This left in opposition only the Clear Grits of Upper Canada and the *parti rouge* of Lower Canada. To the union of political groups thus effected, he gave the name of the "Liberal-Conservative party"—a rather self-contradictory appellation which is still the official style of what is popularly known as the Conservative party.

*Successive
ministries*

In the new government MacNab was the titular prime minister, and Morin was the leader of the French Canadians; but the guiding hand was that of Macdonald. With one interval of four days, this government continued to guide the destinies of Canada for eight years. It underwent several reconstructions. In 1855 Morin retired, to be succeeded as Lower Canadian leader by Colonel (afterwards Sir) Etienne Taché, a French-Canadian gentleman of the old school; and in 1857 Taché retired, to be succeeded by George (afterwards Sir) George Cartier, who had actually shouldered a musket in the rebellion of 1837. In 1856, also, Sir Allan MacNab, the gouty and discredited leader of the Family Compact group, was forced, much against his will, to resign the office of prime minister; and his place as Upper Canadian leader was taken by Macdonald. Two years later, in 1858, the Macdonald-Cartier government resigned; and a ministry was formed by George Brown, the forceful and dominating editor of the *Toronto Globe*, who had come to occupy a commanding position in the Liberal or "Clear Grit" party. But Brown enjoyed the sweets of

office for only four days; and Macdonald and Cartier came back to power and continued to administer the government until 1862. A government was then formed under John Sandfield Macdonald, a Liberal leader who was not wholly in sympathy with George Brown; but this government, after undergoing a radical reconstruction in 1863, was defeated in 1864. A second Macdonald-Taché administration was formed; but this was defeated after three months' tenure of power. In ten years there had been in Canada nine ministries and several general elections, but without definite results. It seemed as if party government had broken down, and deadlock had supervened.

For the explanation of the breakdown of party government in united Canada, we must go back to the Act of Union of 1841. This Act, in direct defiance of Lord Durham's express warning against such an arrangement, had given to Upper and Lower Canada equal representation in the Assembly, irrespective of population. For ten years this had achieved what Lord Durham called "the temporary end of outnumbering the French", since during these years the population of Upper Canada was less than that of Lower Canada. But by 1851 the balance had been reversed. The population of Upper Canada, thanks to immigration, had grown to be larger than that of Lower Canada; and yet both parts of the province continued to have an equal number of representatives in the Assembly. An attempt was made to meet the difficulty by the adoption of a sort of unwritten convention known as the "double majority principle". This was a tacit and partially accepted understanding that there should be a majority from both parts of the province for legislation affecting both parts, and especially a majority from that part of

Equal Representation

the province specially affected. The principle was reflected in the double-barrelled names of the administrations, in appointments to the civil service, and even in grants of money. If an English Canadian was appointed to a government post, a similar position had to be created for a French Canadian; and if a vote of money was made for Lower Canada, a similar grant had to be made for Upper Canada, whether it was needed or not. A dualism or quasi-federalism sprang up in the government of Canada which to a large extent nullified the union. But this dual or "double-majority" system proved unworkable. It was not long before there sprang up in Upper Canada a demand for representation by population—or "Rep. by Pop.", as it was familiarly known. This demand was sponsored by George Brown and the *Globe*; and in a few years it swept Upper Canada. In Lower Canada, on the other hand, it was bitterly opposed. Lower Canada had been forced to accept equal representation when it had had the larger population; and, now that the boot was on the other foot, it demanded that Upper Canada should accept the situation in turn. Colonel Taché went so far as to express the opinion that "the surplus population of Upper Canada had no more right to representation than so many codfish in Gaspé Bay". The result was that no government was able to command a majority in both parts of the province, and indeed parties were so evenly divided that the fate of the government often hung by a thread. "In my earlier days," later testified Sir John Macdonald, "if a member left his seat for half an hour, the ministry ran the risk of being defeated."

"The
Double
Shuffle".

The straits to which government was reduced were perhaps best illustrated by one of the most famous incidents of those days, the so-called "Double Shuffle".

When George Brown formed his short-lived administration in 1858, the members of his cabinet, under a rule which still operates in Canadian politics, were compelled to resign their seats in the Assembly and go back to their constituents for re-election. This left Brown's supporters in a minority in the House, and enabled the Conservatives to carry a vote of want of confidence in the newly-formed ministry. Brown asked for a dissolution of the House, but was refused this by the governor, Sir Edmund Head, and thereupon resigned. He expected, no doubt, that Macdonald and his colleagues, on their return to power, would likewise have to go back to their constituents for re-election, and that he would then be able to turn the tables on them. But Macdonald was too clever for him. He found in the statutes a provision whereby ministers were permitted to change from one portfolio to another without submitting to re-election, provided not more than one month had elapsed in the interval. He therefore appointed his old colleagues to new portfolios, and then on the next day he shuffled them back into their old departments. This device, legal though it was, roused the furious indignation of the disappointed Liberals, who long regarded it as one of the worst crimes in the long catalogue of John A. Macdonald's sins; and one must confess that it savoured of sharp practice. But its chief significance to-day lies in the light which it throws on the *impasse* into which party government had fallen under the Union.

Canada had won under the Union the boon of responsible government. But it had not been able to take full advantage of this blessing, owing to the defects in the Act of Union, which made the establishment of a strong party government next to impossible. The Act of Union had proved to be in large measure an Act of Disunion.

*The results
of union*

It was only with the coming of the federation of the whole of British North America that the rival animosities of Upper and Lower Canada were submerged or subordinated in a larger arena, and that responsible government became operative in a full and real sense.

An old-fashioned but readable account of Canada under the Act of Union is J. C. Dent, *The Last Forty Years* (2 vols., Toronto, 1880). The official biography of Sir John Macdonald is that by Sir Joseph Pope (2 vols., Ottawa, 1894); but briefer and more recent books are Sir J. Pope, *The Day of Sir John Macdonald* (Toronto, 1915), and W. S. Wallace, *Sir John Macdonald* (Toronto, 1924). The best life of George Brown is by John Lewis (Toronto, 1906).

BOOK III: THE DOMINION OF CANADA

PART I CANADIAN NATIONAL UNITY

I see in the not remote distance one great nationality, bound, like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of Ocean.

—THOMAS D'ARCY MCGEE, *Speech in the Legislative Assembly of Canada, 1868*

The future of Canada, I believe, depends very largely upon the cultivation of a national spirit.

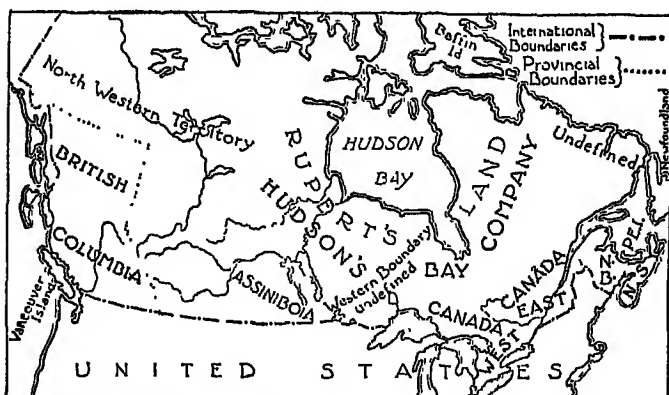
—EDWARD BLAKE, *Speech at Aurora, 1874*

§ 1. THE IDEA OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN UNION

BEFORE 1867 the various provinces of British North America had no connection one with another, save that they all came under the supervision of the Colonial Office. They had separate governments, and even, after the middle of the nineteenth century, separate postage stamps. The idea that they should be united was, however, not new. It was first broached, so far as we know, by a British engineer officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Morse, who was employed in building a road between Quebec and the Maritime provinces just after the close of the American Revolution; and it became a favourite idea with the Loyalists of the American Revolution who settled in Canada. Lord Dorchester acted as their spokesman in urging it, though without success, on the British government at the time of the passage of the Constitutional Act of 1791; and in the years that followed it was espoused by persons so different as John Strachan and John Beverley Robinson on the one hand, and Robert Gourlay and William Lyon Mackenzie on the

*The British
North
American
Provinces*

other. But these pleas for union were little more than pious wishes. The British government, not forgetful of the ill-starred results of the union of the original Thirteen Colonies in the Continental Congress, preferred to act upon the ancient Roman maxim, *Divide et impera* (Divide and rule). It was not until Lord Durham came to Canada, that any British statesman seriously entertained the idea of the union of British North America; and it



BRITISH NORTH AMERICA IN 1867

was a quarter of a century after Lord Durham left Canada before the idea of union actually entered the sphere of practical politics.

Lord
Durham on
union

Before Lord Durham came to Canada in 1838, he had conceived the idea that in the union of all British North America might be found to lie the solution of the problems of Canadian government. "On my first arrival in Canada", he wrote, "I was strongly inclined to the project of a federal union;" and in nothing did his political insight partake more of genius than in his forecast of the influence of union on the growth of Canadian

national feeling. "I am, in truth," he wrote, "so far from believing that the increased power and weight that would be given to these colonies by union would endanger their connection with the Empire, that I look to it as the only means of fostering such a national feeling throughout them as would effectually counterbalance what tendencies may now exist toward separation." But when he came to examine the problem on the spot, he was forced to the conclusion that the time for union was not ripe. In the first place, there were lacking in 1839 those means of communication between the various provinces which were essential to a system of centralized government; and in the second place, local feeling was still so strong in the various provinces that it seemed hopeless to look for a general enthusiasm for union. In other words, both the physical and the psychological bases for union were absent. Lord Durham was obliged to fall back on the union of Upper and Lower Canada alone, as a solution for the problems of Canadian government; but he insisted that the Act of Union should contain a provision whereby other provinces might be admitted to the union, and he frankly regarded the union of 1841 as merely a half-way house on the road to the Confederation of all British North America. With unerring vision, he saw, indeed, that the only way to save Canada for the Empire was "by raising up for the North American colonist some nationality of his own; by elevating these small and unimportant communities into a society having some objects of a national importance; and by thus giving their inhabitants a country which they would be unwilling to see absorbed even into one more powerful". Here, as elsewhere, Lord Durham stood at the head of a long process of development in Canadian history.

*Obstacles
to union
disappear*

During the quarter of a century that elapsed after Durham's brief but pregnant sojourn in Canada, the obstacles which stood in the way of union gradually disappeared. In the first place the railway era dawned. The Grand Trunk Railway linked together Lake Huron and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and while an intercolonial railway from Quebec to Halifax remained a thing of the future, it was recognized as an engineering possibility. The creation of a network of steel, which would render practicable the government of British North America from one centre, was only a matter of time and money. In the second place, the idea of union slowly but surely gained a hold on the popular mind. In 1849 it was adopted as an important plank in the platform of the British American League, an association formed by a number of the leading Conservatives—among them John A. Macdonald—for the purpose of combating the agitation of that time for the annexation of Canada to the United States. In 1854 it found in the Maritime provinces a powerful and eloquent advocate in Joseph Howe, the hero of the struggle for responsible government in Nova Scotia; and by 1858 it had made such strides in Canada that Alexander T. Galt, the leader of the English minority in Lower Canada, would agree to enter the Cartier-Macdonald administration only on the explicit understanding that confederation was to be a cardinal feature of its policy. A delegation composed of Galt, Cartier, and John Ross was actually sent to England to urge the idea of British North American union on the Colonial Office; and it failed to achieve any results only because of the apathetic immobility of the then Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle. In 1858, also, there came to Canada a young Irish patriot named Thomas D'Arcy McGee; and McGee took up the idea of national

unity with such fire and passion that he became the Mazzini of the new movement.

It is McGee's distinction that, like Durham, he saw British North American union in the light of nationalism. Its other advocates had regarded it as a desirable constitutional change. He made of it a religion. Born and bred in the perfervid school of Irish nationalism, he merely transferred to Canada the nationalist aspirations which he had learned at his mother's knee. Within a year of his arrival in Canada, he had been elected a member of the Canadian legislature; within four years he was a member of the cabinet. His "silver tongue" was heard from one end of the province to the other, and even in the provinces by the sea, preaching the new evangel. It is difficult to give an adequate idea of the effect of his appeal; but one or two quotations from his speeches may suffice. In 1862, in a speech delivered at Quebec, he cried:

*Thomas
D'Arcy
McGee*

A Canadian nationality—not French-Canadian, nor British-Canadian, nor Irish-Canadian: patriotism rejects the prefix—is, in my opinion, what we should look forward to, that is what we ought to labour for, that is what we ought to be prepared to defend to the death.

The next year he carried the argument still further in Halifax:

What do we need to construct such a nationality? . . . Analyse our aggregate population: we have more Saxons than Alfred had when he founded the English realm. We have more Celts than Brien had when he put his heel on the neck of Odin. We have more Normans than William had when he marshalled his invading host along the strand of Falaise. We have the laws of St. Edward and St. Louis, Magna Charta, and the Roman Code. We speak the speeches of Shakespeare and Bossuet. We copy the constitution which

Burke and Somers and Sidney and Sir Thomas More lived, or died, to secure, or save. Out of these august elements, in the name of the future generations who shall inhabit all the vast regions we now call ours, I invoke the fortunate genius of a United British America.

With such winged words he drove home his message; and ere long he had gathered about him a party of Young Canada, as Mazzini was gathering about him a party of Young Italy.

*National
unity*

National unity was at that time in the air. The movement towards Canadian national unity was contemporaneous with the national movements which brought about the formation of the Kingdom of Italy and the German Empire. This fact no doubt gave an edge to the campaign of McGee and his friends. But it may perhaps be doubted whether even this fact would have served to crown with success the efforts of the Canadian nationalists of that day, had there not occurred at the same time certain events—"events stronger than men", as McGee himself put it—which forced the question of union to the fore.

*The
American
Civil war*

The first of these was the American Civil War. This struggle, which broke out in 1861, had far-reaching effects in Canada. At its outset there occurred an incident which very nearly brought about war between Great Britain and the Northern states. In November, 1861, Captain Wilkes of the United States navy stopped the British mail steamer *Trent*, and arrested two of its passengers, who were the official representatives of the Southern Confederacy. The British government demanded their release; and for several weeks it seemed likely that war would be declared. In the end the American authorities released the two prisoners; and what was known as "the *Trent* affair" blew over. But

the narrow escape from war, with the probability that Canada would again be invaded by American armies, made Canadians realize more acutely than ever the divided condition of British North America, and the desirability of union from the military point of view. It has been said, indeed, that "the true father of Confederation was neither Brown, Cartier, nor Macdonald, but Captain Wilkes, U.S.N". At a later stage of the Civil War, feeling in the Northern states was roused against Great Britain and Canada by the sympathy which many Englishmen and a few Canadians showed for the South, and by the intrigues of Southern agents who found refuge in Toronto and Montreal. The attitude of the British authorities in both Great Britain and Canada was scrupulously correct; and tens of thousands of Canadians enlisted in the armies of the North. But a strong feeling of hostility toward Great Britain undoubtedly existed; and there was grave danger that, when the war was over, the northern armies, flushed with victories, might be turned against Canada. Under these circumstances, Canadians were not likely to forget Abraham Lincoln's scriptural warning that "a house divided against itself cannot stand".

What actually brought the movement toward Canadian national unity to a head, however, was the breakdown of party government in the Canadas. As Goldwin Smith put it, "The true parent of confederation was deadlock". When the second Macdonald-Taché government was defeated in the House in the early summer of 1864, a crisis was reached. Since 1861 there had been four ministries in Canada, and two general elections had been held, but without any decisive result. Government had come to a standstill, and anarchy seemed not far off. It was seen that the only hope was that the leaders of the

*The
breakdown
of party
government*

rival parties might join hands in a coalition government, with the object of finding some way out of the deadlock; and in confederation was found the solution for the problems of government in Old Canada.

For a fuller discussion of this subject, consult W. S. Wallace, *The Growth of Canadian National Feeling* (Toronto, 1927). The life of D'Arcy McGee has been written by Isabel Skelton (Garden-vale, P.Q., 1925) and by Alexander Brady (Toronto, 1925).

§ 2. THE FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION

*Brown and
Macdonald*

ONE of the chief obstacles to the formation of a coalition government in Canada in 1864 was the difficulty of bringing together the leaders of the two parties in Upper Canada, George Brown and John A. Macdonald. The political struggle was conducted in those days with an acrimony nowadays almost unknown; and between Brown and Macdonald there had sprung up a bitter personal animosity. This was partly due to a fundamental difference in character between them. Macdonald had many of the typical qualities of the Scottish Highlander—a quick wit, a convivial disposition, an instinctive knowledge of human nature, a strong sense of loyalty; whereas Brown had those qualities of dourness, moral earnestness, and lack of humour which are sometimes attributed to the Lowland Scot. Macdonald regarded Brown as a hypocrite; and Brown regarded Macdonald as an unprincipled opportunist. Each had used language about the other which was hard to forgive. For years the two men had not even nodded to each other on the street; and it was now no easy task to get them to act together.

*"Four-
parlers"
leading to
Confedera-
tion*

The first step was taken by the governor-general, Lord Monck. Monck sent emissaries to both Brown and Macdonald, urging them to lay aside their private dif-

ferences, and to unite in the interests of the common weal. Brown expressed a willingness to meet Macdonald; and a meeting was arranged at which were present Brown, Macdonald, and A. T. Galt, the leader of the English minority in Lower Canada. At this meeting Brown first proposed that a coalition government should be formed on the platform of "representation by population"; but when both Macdonald and Galt assured him that their Lower Canadian colleagues would never assent to such a platform, Brown agreed to join with them in forming a government pledged to try to bring about a union of British North America. The statement has sometimes been made that Macdonald was "an eleventh-hour convert" to Confederation, and accepted it only when Brown forced him to do so. Nothing could be farther from the truth. It is true that on one occasion, in 1862, he voted against a resolution in favour of a federal system; but this was for reasons peculiar to that occasion. He had been largely responsible for the adoption of the idea by the British American League in 1849; he had been a member of the government which sent a delegation to England to urge the idea on the Colonial Office in 1858; he had championed the idea on the floor of the Assembly in 1861; and it was he, with Galt, who urged Brown to accept it as the basis of the coalition government of 1864. This fact, however, in no way lessens the credit which is due to Brown for his patriotic and self-sacrificing action in joining hands with Macdonald to rescue the country in a crisis; nor does it enhance the credit due to Macdonald for the statesmanlike manner in which he met Brown's advances. Neither Brown nor Macdonald had thrown himself before 1864 into the battle for national unity as McGee had done; but when the time came, both rose to the occasion with

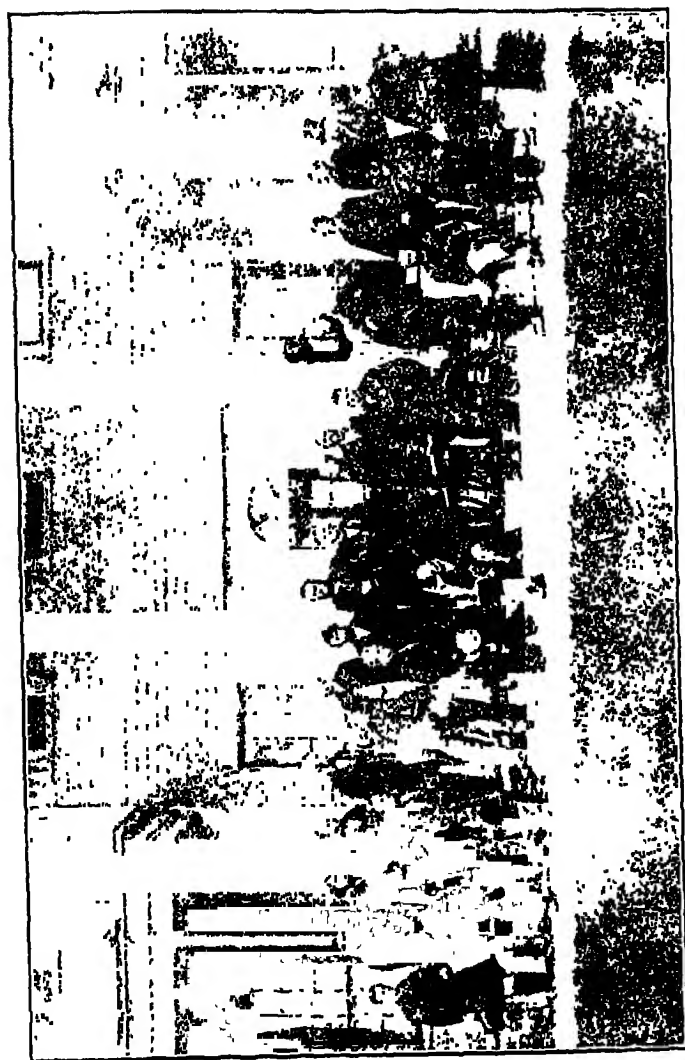
equal magnanimity, and for this their names deserve to be written in Canadian history in letters of gold.

*The Great
Coalition*

The Great Coalition, as the new government is known, was formed, after prolonged negotiations, in the summer of 1864. George Brown took office in the government, with two of his Liberal colleagues from Upper Canada, William McDougall and Oliver (afterwards Sir Oliver) Mowat; and the veteran Sir Etienne Taché was prevailed upon to accept the office of prime minister. A year later Sir Etienne Taché died; and an awkward moment arrived, since Brown was unwilling to serve under Macdonald, who now became the senior member of the government. But the difficulty was solved by pressing into service as nominal prime minister Sir Narcisse Beliveau, a former speaker of the Legislative Council who had been knighted by the Prince of Wales in 1860. Later, in 1865, George Brown resigned from the government, as the result of a disagreement with his colleagues; but fortunately his fellow Liberals in the cabinet did not follow him, and the Great Coalition was thus able to complete its work.

*The
Charlottetown
Conference*

In the late summer a delegation of the members of the Great Coalition went down to the Maritime provinces to discuss the project of federation. Here they found that the idea of union was already in the air; and that a convention had actually been called to meet at Charlottetown to discuss the union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Some of the Canadian ministers attended the Charlottetown Conference, and invited the Maritime province delegates to attend a meeting to be held in Quebec, the Canadian capital, in October, 1864, for the purpose of discussing the larger plan of a union of all the British provinces in North-eastern America. The invitation was accepted; and on October 10, 1864, there met at Quebec delegates from



THE CHARLOTTETOWN CONFERENCE, 1864
From a photograph

Canada, the Maritime provinces, and Newfoundland, in what was destined to be known to posterity as the Quebec Conference.

*The Quebec
Conference*

Of what went on behind the closed doors of the Quebec Conference during the two weeks it lasted, we know little in detail. There were no reporters present, and few of those who took part in the conference left behind them memoranda of its proceedings. The official record of its proceedings was merely a bald outline. There were without doubt tense and dramatic moments. On more than one occasion delegates from certain provinces threatened to pack their luggage and leave Quebec. Toward the end, proceedings were so hurried that there was sometimes a doubt as to what had been done. But before the delegates separated, they had agreed on seventy-two resolutions as a basis for Confederation—resolutions which were destined to be embodied later in the British North America Act.

*Ratification
of union*

These resolutions the delegates took back to their respective legislatures for approval. In the Canadian legislature, the resolutions were carried by a large majority, after a long and brilliant debate in which Macdonald, Brown, Galt, McGee, and Cartier all took part. Cartier succeeded in carrying with him the French Canadians, except for a few members of the *parti rouge*, (in the ranks of which was the young editor of a country newspaper named Wilfrid Laurier); and Brown and Macdonald commanded nearly all the votes from Upper Canada. But, in the provinces by the sea, vigorous opposition developed to the terms of union. In Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland the union proposals were defeated; Prince Edward Island did not enter Confederation until eight years later, and Newfoundland has remained outside the circle of Confederation from

that day to this. In Nova Scotia Joseph Howe, though once a powerful advocate of union, opposed the Seventy-Two Resolutions so vehemently that Charles (afterwards Sir Charles) Tupper, the leader of the government, hesitated to bring the question to a vote; and in New Brunswick the opponents of Confederation proved strong enough to defeat by an overwhelming majority the pro-union government of S. L. (afterwards Sir Leonard) Tilley. "My boy," one of the opponents of Confederation is reported to have said to his son, "you have no country, for Mr. Tilley has sold us to the Canadians for eighty cents a head." The next year the Tilley government, by a happy reversal of fortune, came back to power; and Tupper then succeeded in getting the Nova Scotia legislature to approve of the principle of Confederation. But for two anxious years the issue had hung in the balance; and it was almost a miracle that both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were brought into union. It will be observed that nowhere was Confederation the result of a popular vote or plebiscite. Had the question been submitted to the people, it is doubtful whether it would anywhere have carried, except perhaps in Upper Canada. The success of the movement was due mainly to a number of public-spirited and far-sighted statesmen, who took their political lives in their hands to bring it about. Some of the credit should go also to the much-maligned Colonial Office, which exerted through the governors of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia what influence it could to bring these provinces to accept union.

Once the Seventy-Two Resolutions had been ratified by Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, all that remained was to embody them in an Act of the Imperial parliament; and in 1866 delegates from these provinces

*The London
Conference*

proceeded to London to discuss with the Colonial Office the details of this bill. At this London Conference George Brown was not present, since he had resigned from the Canadian government in 1865; and John A. Macdonald became the guiding spirit in the deliberations. A striking picture of him has been left by Lord Blachford, who, as under-secretary of state for the colonies, was present at the Conference:

He was the ruling genius and spokesman. I was greatly struck by his power of management and adroitness . . . The slightest divergence from the narrow line already agreed on in Canada, was watched for—here by the French, and there by the English—as eager dogs watch a rat-hole; a snap on one side might have provoked a snap on the other, and put an end to the concord. He stated and argued the case with cool, easy fluency, while, at the same time, you saw that every word was measured and that, while he was making for a point ahead, he was never for a moment unconscious of any of the rocks among which he had to steer.

Not in everything, however, did Macdonald get his way. He was anxious that the new Confederation should be called "the Kingdom of Canada"; but the adoption of this name was opposed by Lord Stanley, afterwards the Earl of Derby, the British foreign minister, who "feared the name would wound the sensibilities of the Yankees". The delegates then chose the term "Dominion", apparently on the suggestion of Tilley, who was a diligent student of the Bible and who happened to come across the text, "His dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth". In the end the Seventy-Two Resolutions of the Quebec Conference were reduced to sixty-nine; and these were embodied in a bill which was introduced into the British parliament and passed without a division,



BY THE QUEEN.

A PROCLAMATION

For Uniting the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick
into One Dominion under the Name of CANADA.

VICTORIA & BE

WHEREAS in the Act of Parliament passed on the Twenty-ninth Day of March One thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven in the Eleventh Year of our Beloved Sovereign, an Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof, and for Purposes therein set forth, after divers Letters, it is enacted that it shall be lawful for the Queen to, and with the Advice of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, to declare by Proclamation, before and after a Day therein appointed and being more than Six Months after the passing of this Act the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick shall form and be One Dominion under the Name of Canada, and after and from that Day those three Provinces shall form and be the Dominion under that Name accordingly: And it is thereby further enacted that such Persons shall be first summoned to the Senate as the Queen, by Warrant under Her Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, thought fit to approve, and their Names shall be inserted in the Queen's Proclamations of Union. We therefore, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, has thought fit to read this Our Royal Proclamation, and We do Ordain, Declare, and Command that on and after the First Day of July, this thousand eight hundred and sixtieth in the Premises of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick shall form and be One Dominion under the Name of Canada: And We do further Ordain and Declare, that the Persons whose Names are herein inserted and set forth are the Persons of whom We have, by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, thought fit to approve as the Persons who shall be first summoned to the Senate of Canada:

[illegible]

taken at Our Court at Windsor Castle, this Twentieth second Day of May, in the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, and in the Thirtieth Year of Our Reign,

and use the doors.

THE PROCLAMATION WHICH ANNOUNCED THE CREATION OF
THE DOMINION OF CANADA IN 1867

attracting no more notice than if it had been "a private bill uniting two or three English parishes".

*The British
North
America
Act*

The British North America Act came into effect on July 1, 1867; and this day is, consequently, the birthday of the Dominion of Canada. The Act divided the old province of Canada into two parts, Ontario and Quebec, corresponding to Upper and Lower Canada; and these it united with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in a federal union, with a provision that other provinces might enter the union should they so desire. At Ottawa, which was selected as the capital of the new Dominion, there was to be a legislature composed of a governor-general, an appointed Senate, and an elective House of Commons, having oversight of matters which concerned the whole Dominion, such as the post-office, the tariff, and the militia; while in each province there was to be a legislature having control of local affairs, such as education, municipal government, and crown lands. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick retained their old constitutions intact, except that the Crown was now represented in them, not by a governor sent out by the Colonial Office, but by a lieutenant-governor appointed by the Dominion government; and Quebec was given, like them, a two-chamber legislature. Ontario, on the other hand, contented itself with a single chamber; and it is of interest to note that since 1867 all the other provinces of the Dominion, with the solitary exception of Quebec, have followed Ontario's example, and adopted the single-chamber form of legislature. By this federal system Canada has obtained the advantage of unity in matters of general concern, while a province like Quebec, with its predominantly French-Canadian population, has been able to preserve its local language, laws, and institutions. The Dominion government was given the power of dis-

allowing provincial legislation, in case it should be contrary to the interests of the whole Dominion, just as the Imperial government retained the power of disallowing Dominion legislation, if it should conflict with the interests of the whole Empire; but both these powers have been very sparingly used since 1867, and may be said to be now virtually obsolete. In its main outlines, the British North America Act set up a form of government perfectly suited to the needs of a country like Canada, with its varieties of race and creed and the differing local needs of its immense territory.

The fullest and most recent study of Canadian national unification is R. G. Trotter, *Canadian Federation* (London, 1924); but a briefer treatment will be found in A. H. U. Colquhoun, *The Fathers of Confederation* (Toronto 1916).

§ 3. THE COMPLETION OF CONFEDERATION

WITHIN six brief years after 1867, the new Dominion—which included originally only four provinces—had spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and had come to include the whole of British North America, with the exception of Newfoundland and the British West Indies. Such a result must be counted among the marvels of modern nation-building. But it should not be allowed to obscure the fact, as it is apt to do, that in 1867 the future of the new Dominion was far from assured. The danger zone was Nova Scotia. There the opposition to Confederation, led by Joseph Howe, had swept the province; and in the first elections to the parliament of the Dominion, every one of the nineteen members elected from Nova Scotia was an opponent of Confederation, with the solitary exception of Charles Tupper. Joseph Howe launched, in fact, a campaign for the repeal of Confederation, and he carried his agitation to the very doors of the House of Commons in Westminster. He

*The danger
to Con-
federation*

found a powerful ally in the great English orator, John Bright; and Bright actually moved in the House of Commons for an investigation of the grievances of Nova Scotia.

*Nova Scotia
and
"Repeal"*

So full of danger was the situation that in 1868 Sir John Macdonald, who had been knighted on becoming the first prime minister of the Dominion, sent Charles Tupper to London to counteract Howe's efforts; and Tupper was able to stiffen the resolution of the British government to stand firm. Then Tupper and Howe had a memorable interview. Tupper succeeded in convincing Howe that his campaign for "Repeal" could end only in rebellion or in the annexation of Nova Scotia to the United States. These alternatives Howe, who came of Loyalist stock, was not willing to countenance. Tupper persuaded him to desist from his campaign by holding out hope that the Dominion parliament would grant Nova Scotia "better terms". Then, on Howe's return to Nova Scotia, that master strategist, Sir John Macdonald, went down to Halifax to offer him a seat in the Dominion cabinet; and Howe, won over by Macdonald's persuasive charm and his promise of better financial terms for Nova Scotia, succumbed to the temptation. By so doing he lost the confidence and support of many of his friends in Nova Scotia; and at Ottawa he failed utterly to live up to his great reputation. His attitude was summarized in the remark attributed to him, when discussing the position of Nova Scotia in the Dominion, "You have got us, and now you have got to keep us". But his patriotic right-about-face, when he saw whither his course was leading him, and his acceptance of office in the Dominion government, gave the quietus to the campaign for "Repeal". In the Dominion elections of 1872,

Tupper and Howe were able to carry, by their combined efforts, eighteen out of the nineteen seats in Nova Scotia.

Once the danger of the repeal of Confederation had been averted, Macdonald turned his energies toward the completion of the work of unification begun in 1867. His first step was the acquisition in 1869 of the vast territories of the Hudson's Bay Company. This great Company, as we have seen, had been granted in 1670 the overlordship of all those territories watered by rivers flowing into Hudson Bay; and as time went on, it had extended its rule over the whole of the Great North-West, including even the Pacific slope. But for many years after 1670, it had made little attempt to occupy more than a few posts on the shores of Hudson Bay; and the Great North-West had actually been to a large extent discovered and explored by traders from Canada, first under the French, and then under the Nor'Westers. It was natural, therefore, that Canadians should look on the West as their natural heritage. Many attacks had been made on the monopolistic rule which the Hudson's Bay Company exercised in these regions; and in 1869, when the Canadian government opened negotiations with the Company, it found it not unwilling to surrender its two-century-old title to the West in return for substantial concessions. Eventually, it was agreed that the Hudson's Bay Company should resign its territorial rights in return for the sum of £300,000, the control of its own posts, and the reservation for it of one-twentieth of the fertile lands of the West. It is not strictly accurate to say, as is sometimes said, that the Dominion government bought from the Company the Hudson Bay Territories; what happened was that, on receiving certain guarantees, the Company resigned its claims to a renewal of its charter by the Crown,

*The
Hudson
Bay
Territories*

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE LEGISLATURE

OF RUPERT'S LAND.,

Wednesday, March 9th, 1870.

WEDNESDAY, the Ninth Day of the Month of March, being the First Session of the First Legislature of Rupert's Land.

The Members in attendance in the Legislative Chamber, Upper Fort Garry, were:—

LOUIS RIEL, Esq., PRESIDENT,

THE HONORABLE MESSRS.

W. B. O'Donoghue,	Pierre Parrenteau,	George Gunn,
John Bruce,	Louis Lacerte,	John Norquay,
Ambroise Lepine,	A. G. B. Hannatyne,	E. Hayes,
Louis Schmidt,	Wm. Fraser,	Wm. Tait,
A. Beffchevin,	Thomas Dunn,	A. H. Scott,
Baptiste Tournon,	Wm. Garrioch,	H. F. Olone.
Baptiste Beauchemin,		

A SCARCE DOCUMENT ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS RIEL IN 1870

and that the British government then transferred to Canada the rights thus resigned. But the effect was to add to the territories of the Dominion a vast Empire bounded on the north only by the Arctic Ocean, on the West by the Rockies, and on the south by the forty-ninth parallel of latitude.

Before Canada could enter into possession of this new domain, there occurred in the Red River valley some

*The Red
River
Rebellion*



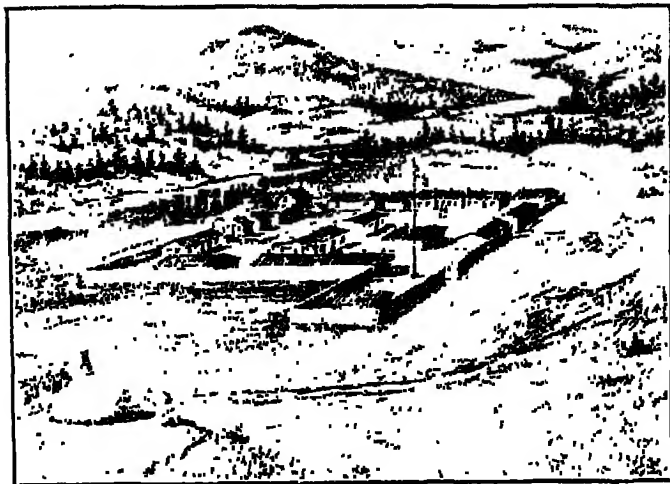
THE EXECUTION OF THOMAS SCOTT

unfortunate disturbances which had far-reaching results in Canadian history, and which cast a shadow over the infancy of the Dominion. In the spring of 1869 the Canadian government sent up to the Red River parties of surveyors, and these proceeded to run their survey lines through the lands on which had squatted the half-breeds, or Métis, the children of the fur trade. Greatly

alarmed, the half-breeds stopped the survey parties; and later, when William McDougall, who had been appointed governor of Rupert's Land, attempted to enter on his duties, they turned him back at the United States boundary. Led by a clever but visionary French half-breed named Louis Riel, they formed a provisional government of which Riel was elected president; they published a "Bill of Rights"; and they seized Fort Garry. A number of loyalists who had attempted to upset the provisional government were imprisoned; and one of these, an Orangeman named Thomas Scott, was shot by a firing squad after a trial which was a travesty of justice. News of these events roused intense indignation throughout Ontario, from which Thomas Scott had come; and a military expedition was immediately dispatched to the Red River, under the command of Colonel (afterwards Field-Marshal Lord) Wolseley, to put down what was called the "Riel rebellion". Wolseley's troops, proceeding by way of the Great Lakes and the overland route from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg, reached Fort Garry at the end of August, 1870; and Riel and his associates fled at their approach. With the arrival of the troops, order was restored in the Red River district; and later in 1870 the Canadian parliament passed an Act erecting the province of Manitoba, in which the inhabitants of the Red River, both half-breed and loyalist, were to have the same rights of self-government as were enjoyed by the people of the other provinces in the Dominion. But the insurrection left behind it a legacy of unhappy feeling, since many people in the province of Quebec felt that Riel and his half-breeds had been treated as rebels when they were only fighting for what they regarded as their rights; and it was significant of the embarrassment of the government that, although

Riel was outlawed, no attempt was made to arrest him, even when he had himself elected later a member of the Canadian House of Commons, and actually tried to take his seat.

So disturbed were conditions in the West at this time that Sir John Macdonald in 1873 organized a semi-military, semi-civilian police force, known as the North-West (later Royal North-West) Mounted Police.



FORT WALSH, AN EARLY POST OF THE
NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE

This splendid body of men, though numbering only a few hundred, kept the peace for many years in the Western country; and when, with the settlement of the West, the need for their services ceased, and they were transformed in 1920 into the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, they had done a piece of work of which all Canada

was proud. In particular, their preservation of the peace in the Western country during the early critical years was a contribution of the first importance to the building of the Dominion.

*The Pacific
Slope*

Next after the acquisition of the Hudson Bay Territories, came the inclusion in the Dominion of the infant province of British Columbia. The Pacific Slope of what is now the Dominion of Canada had become British territory largely as the result of the exploration of its coast by the famous navigator Captain Cook, in 1778, and of the exploration of its interior by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, and David Thompson. British sovereignty in this region had been challenged by Spain, Russia, and the United States. Spain had actually seized in 1789 two British ships at Nootka Sound; but the diplomatic war which followed resulted in the vindication of the British claims. Russia succeeded in making good her hold on Alaska and a strip of coastal territory to the south which she afterwards sold to the United States; and the United States made strenuous attempts to establish her flag in the whole of this region. When David Thompson reached the mouth of the Columbia in 1811, he found that John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company had already built at this point Fort Astoria. This post was, during the War of 1812, captured by the Nor'Westers; but in later years American settlers flocked into the Oregon country, and the United States claimed ownership of the Pacific Slope up to a point nearly halfway between the fiftieth and sixtieth parallels of north latitude. In the American elections of 1844 the slogan of the Democrats was actually "Fifty-four forty or fight". But in 1846 Great Britain and the United States, by the Oregon Treaty, agreed to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude as the boundary between the United States

and British North America west, as well as east, of the Rockies; and what is now British Columbia became unquestionably British territory.

In this territory the Hudson's Bay Company had for long held sway. In 1821, after absorbing the North West Company, the pioneer on the Pacific Slope, it had obtained a license for exclusive trading privileges beyond the Rockies; and this had been renewed in 1842. In 1849, however, Vancouver Island, on which the Hudson's Bay Company had its headquarters, had been created a crown colony; and in 1858, after gold had been discovered in the valley of the Fraser, and thousands of miners had flocked into the country in search of gold, the mainland was created also into a crown colony. The governor of the two colonies for many years was James (afterwards Sir James) Douglas, an able and forceful Scotsman who had been a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company; but the opening up of the country had sounded the death-knell of the Hudson's Bay Company's domination on the Pacific Slope. Shortly after Douglas's retirement in 1864, Vancouver Island and British Columbia had been united, and had become the province of British Columbia, with representative institutions like those of the other British provinces in North America. In the very first legislature of British Columbia, resolutions were passed favouring union with the Dominion of Canada, which was at that moment coming into existence; but the fact that the prairies were still under the government of the Hudson's Bay Company interposed a barrier which rendered union impracticable. When, however, Canada had acquired the Hudson Bay Territories, this barrier disappeared; and in 1871 Sir John Macdonald was able to bring to a successful conclusion the negotiations for the inclusion

*Vancouver
Island and
British
Columbia*

of British Columbia in the Canadian Confederation, on the same basis as the provinces of eastern Canada. He had, however, to offer British Columbia great inducements. In especial, he had to promise that there would be built, within ten years, a transcontinental railway which should connect British Columbia with the rest of Canada.

*British
Columbia's
entrance
into union.*

There were those who criticized severely in 1871 what seemed to them Macdonald's unseemly haste in bringing British Columbia into the Dominion. The province had at that time only a few thousand inhabitants, and its great wealth was unknown. Some of Macdonald's opponents actually accused him of bringing British Columbia into union for the sake of the votes which it was likely to give him, if granted favourable terms, in the Dominion House of Commons; and perhaps the possibility of additional political support may not have been wholly absent from his mind, for Macdonald was a practical politician. But he was also a statesman, and there is no doubt that his major motive was the desire to round out the Dominion, to extend it from the Atlantic to the Pacific, while yet there was time. Even in 1871 there was still grave danger that an influx of Americans into British Columbia might bring about the annexation of that province to the United States.

*Prince
Edward
Island*

Finally, in 1873, the friends of Confederation triumphed in Prince Edward Island. This small province had, since 1867, got into financial straits; and there had already been negotiations looking toward the inclusion of the Island in the Dominion on the understanding that financial assistance would be forthcoming. The defeat of the anti-confederation party in 1873 brought the negotiations to a successful conclusion; and Prince Edward Island voted itself into the Dominion, as the

seventh and smallest province, on condition that, whatever its population, it would never have fewer than four members in the Canadian House of Commons.

Since 1873 the only addition to the territory of the Dominion has been the islands of the Arctic Archipelago lying north of the mainland of Canada. These have been discovered and explored in the main by British navigators, such as John Davis and William Baffin, whose names are now written on the map of the Arctic circle. In particular, the exploration of these regions had resulted from the attempt of Sir John Franklin in 1845 to find a "north-west passage" from the Atlantic to the Pacific north of the mainland of British North America—an attempt which ended in the tragic loss of Franklin and all his crews. During the ten years that followed Franklin's ill-starred venture, many expeditions were sent out in search of him and his ships; and in the search the geography of a large part of the Arctic Archipelago was laid bare, though it was not until 1906 that a Norwegian explorer, Roald Amundsen, actually made the "north-west passage" by sailing from the Atlantic to the Pacific around the north of Canada. The islands of the Arctic Archipelago, however, had become British territory by right of prior discovery; and in 1880 the British government, by order-in-council, transferred to the Dominion of Canada "all British territories and possessions in North America not already included in the Dominion of Canada, and all islands adjacent to such territories or possessions", except Newfoundland and its dependencies. This transfer was confirmed by an Act of the British parliament in 1895; and in this year Canada took over the administration of the Arctic islands. Mounted Police posts were established in these

*The Arctic
Archipelago*

northern wastes; and the laws of Canada are there to-day in force.

*The extent
of the
Dominion*

With the inclusion of British Columbia in the west, Prince Edward Island in the east, and the islands of the Arctic Archipelago in the north, the Dominion of Canada assumed the territorial extent which it has to-day. How vast this is, few people even in Canada realize. The geographical area of Canada is greater than that of the United States, not exclusive of Alaska; and, to quote the graphic words of Sir Robert Borden, "if you could pivot Canada on its eastern seaboard, it would cover the northern part of the Atlantic Ocean, the British Islands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, the entire German Empire, and a considerable part of European Russia; and a man who lives in Halifax is a thousand miles farther from Victoria than he is from London". Mere square miles do not make a great country; but that such a vast Dominion should have been created substantially within the space of six years, and largely under the direction of one man, constitutes an achievement beside which the wonders of Aladdin's lamp pale into insignificance.

The matters contained in this section are more fully treated in the lives of Sir John Macdonald, cited above, and in Sir R. Cartwright, *Reminiscences* (Toronto, 1913). The campaign for "repeal" in Nova Scotia is described in W. L. Grant, *The Tribune of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1915) and in Sir C. Tupper, *Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada* (London, 1914). A good recent book on British Columbia is F. W. Howay, *British Columbia* (Toronto, 1928).

§ 4. THE GROWTH OF CANADIAN NATIONAL FEELING

*The "New
National-
ity"*

THERE were many persons who ridiculed before 1867 the idea that the new Dominion would give rise to a "new nationality". "Our new nationality", said one of the opponents of Confederation, "if we could create it,

would be nothing but a name." Even among the supporters of Confederation, the idea of a Canadian nationality was regarded in some quarters as a dream. John (afterwards Sir John) Rose, later finance minister of the Dominion, supported Confederation for practical reasons, and not "from any ardent and temporary impulse or vague aspiration to be part in name of a new nation". There was no one in 1867 who did not speak of "the new nationality" in the future tense.

The Dominion had hardly come into existence, however, when there developed an organized nationalist movement. In the spring of 1868 there chanced to meet in Ottawa, the capital of the new Dominion, five young men all but one of whom were under thirty years of age. These were Charles Mair, poet and journalist, who died in Vancouver as recently as 1927; George T. Denison, afterwards police magistrate of Toronto, who died in 1925; Henry J. Morgan, the author of the first Canadian bibliography; Robert J. Haliburton, the son of the author of *Sam Slick*, and himself a writer of promise; and W. A. Foster, a Toronto barrister, who died prematurely in 1888, but who was destined to become the guiding spirit of the group. These young men fell into the habit of meeting together to discuss the future of the new Dominion; and they agreed on the necessity of fostering by all means possible a national spirit in Canada, as the surest bond of unity Canadians could have. Gradually new members were added to the group, until it came to be known as "the Twelve Apostles". Eventually, the group adopted as its motto the words "Canada First"; and in 1871 Foster published his now famous lecture entitled *Canada First; or, Our New Nationality*. This lecture provided the Canadian nationalists with a rallying-cry; and in the beginning of

1874 the Canadian National Association was formed, a political party which was popularly known as the "Canada First" party.

*The
influence of
"Canada
First"*

This party formulated a platform which forecast many of the developments which have taken place in Canada between that day and this. In its demand for "a voice in treaties affecting Canada" it anticipated some of the most recent changes in Canada's relations with the mother country; in its demand for "the imposition of duties for revenue so adjusted as to afford every possible encouragement for native industry", it enunciated that policy of economic protection to which Sir John Macdonald later applied the term of the "National Policy"; it advocated the adoption of the ballot and a wider franchise, the encouragement of immigration and the granting of free homesteads to immigrants, as well as a number of other reforms which have not yet taken place. The "Canada First" party was, in fact, too far ahead of its time; and it had only a brief and transitory career. But the gospel which the "Twelve Apostles" had set out to preach survived the preachers, and is seen in the growth of Canadian national feeling since that time. As Charles Mair wrote in his lines in memory of W. A. Foster,

*The seed they sowed has sprung at last,
And grows and blossoms through the land.*

The best first-hand account of the "Canada First" movement is to be found in Col. G. T. Denison, *The Struggle for Imperial Unity* (Toronto, 1909).

PART II: THE SHIP OF STATE

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!

—H. W. LONGFELLOW, *The Building of the Ship*

§ 1. THE MACDONALD AND MACKENZIE MINISTRIES,
1867-1891

LORD MONCK, the first governor-general of the Dominion, entrusted John A. (or, as he now became, Sir John) Macdonald with the formation in 1867 of the first government of the Dominion, because, especially after the withdrawal of George Brown from the Great Coalition in 1865, Macdonald stood out as the chief architect of Confederation. Macdonald remained prime minister of Canada from that date until his death in 1891, except for a period of five years from 1873 to 1878. In 1873 he was forced to resign in consequence of charges of political corruption brought against him by the Liberal opposition; and Lord Dufferin, the governor-general at that time, thereupon entrusted Alexander Mackenzie, one of the Liberal leaders and a former lieutenant of George Brown, with the duty of forming a government. The Mackenzie government appealed to the country, and was returned by a triumphant majority; but in the next general election, held in 1878, it suffered a severe defeat, and Sir John Macdonald resumed the reins of government. For the remainder of his life, Macdonald ruled, like the Turk, with no rival near the throne. Twice the Liberals changed their leader. First, in 1880, Alexander Mackenzie gave place to Edward Blake; and secondly, in 1887, Edward Blake gave place to Wilfrid Laurier. But neither Blake nor Laurier proved able to drive Macdonald from power.

*Outline of
the period*

*Importance
of this
period*

The years covering the administrations of Macdonald and Mackenzie were fraught with great importance for the future; for it was during these years that the lines



SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

were laid down along which Canada was to develop. It was, for instance, during Macdonald's first period of office, as we have seen, that the Dominion was extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the 49th

parallel of latitude to the Arctic circle. But this achievement, great though it was, was only one of many results, hardly less notable, achieved during this period.

The initial problem with which Macdonald was faced, when he assumed the prime ministry of Canada in 1867, was that of creating and setting in motion the machinery of government. *The machinery of government* Though he was able to utilize to some extent the machinery of government of "united Canada", which had already been concentrated at Ottawa, he had to adapt it to the new federal arrangements, and indeed very largely to re-create it. The government of "united Canada", moreover, had been based on the two-party system; and it was Macdonald's conviction that the destinies of the infant Dominion should be entrusted to a coalition such as had presided over its birth. He called, therefore, to the Senate, or upper house of the federal legislature, an equal number of Liberals and Conservatives, as had been in fact previously agreed upon; and he formed a cabinet in which, likewise, Liberals and Conservatives were almost equally represented. The formation of this coalition cabinet, it is true, proved almost too much even for his skill in cabinet-making. It was then, as now, an unwritten rule that a Canadian cabinet should include, not only representatives of the various parts of the country, but also of the chief racial and religious groups; and when to this problem there was added that of giving equal representation to the two great political parties, the formation of the first cabinet of the Dominion came to resemble a Chinese puzzle. Macdonald had almost given up the task in despair, when Charles Tupper and D'Arcy McGee—both of whom had as good a claim as anyone else to sit at the council board of the new Dominion—stood aside, in a spirit of noble and patriotic self-sacrifice, in favour

of a compromise candidate whose name is forgotten to-day. In like manner, Macdonald saw to it that the government of the province of Ontario was entrusted to a coalition cabinet—popularly known as “the Patent Combination”—under John Sandfield Macdonald, a former prime minister of “united Canada”. He seemed anxious, indeed, to put an end to the old barren party struggles of pre-confederation days. He even went the length of denouncing the evils of partyism: “Party,” he said, quoting Pope, “is merely a struggle for office, the madness of many for the gain of a few.” His attempt to abolish party government in Canada proved in the end a failure; for George Brown raised aloft once more the banner of Reform, and gradually the Liberal members of the cabinet, for one reason or another, dropped out. But Macdonald’s abortive attempt to introduce non-partisan government into Canada was an interesting illustration of the problems he had to face in setting in motion the mechanism of government.

Railways

The next problem the government had to face was that of improving communications. Especially after the new Dominion had been rounded out by the inclusion of the North-West Territories and British Columbia, it was clear that means would have to be found for welding together the far-flung provinces of the federation. Canada is not a geographical unit; it is a triumph over geography. The Maritime provinces are cut off from central Canada by the forest lands of northern New Brunswick; central Canada is cut off from the prairie provinces by the difficult country lying north and west of Lake Superior; and the prairie provinces are cut off from British Columbia by the gigantic barrier of the Rocky Mountains. If the Dominion was to acquire any real economic unity, it was essential that its component

parts should be linked together by railways. Surveys for an inter-colonial railway which should connect Canada with the Maritime provinces had been made before Confederation; and the construction of this railway was one of the conditions on which the Maritime provinces agreed to enter Confederation. It was decided to build the railway as a government line, under the supervision of the department of public works. Work on it was begun in 1867, and it was completed in 1876, the first unit in what are to-day the Canadian National Railways. The building of a railway to connect central Canada with the North-West and British Columbia was, however, a more formidable project. Such a railway had often been mooted; but it was only as a condition of British Columbia's entrance into Confederation in 1871 that its construction was definitely undertaken. It was stipulated that it should be built within ten years. To the plans for building the railway the Macdonald government gave long and careful thought. In the end it was decided not to build it as a government railway, but to award the contract for its construction to a company of which Sir Hugh Allan of Montreal, the head of the famous Allan line of steamships, was president.

The work of construction on the "Pacific railway" had just begun when it was interrupted by an unfortunate episode in the political history of the Dominion. In 1872 the first parliament of the Dominion came to an end, and it became necessary for the Macdonald government to submit itself to the judgment of the electors in a general election. This election was vigorously contested, and Macdonald was so unwise as to accept large contributions to the Conservative campaign fund from Sir Hugh Allan, the head of the company which had just obtained the charter for the building of the transcontinental

The "Pacific Scandal"

railway. This fact came to the knowledge of the leaders of the Liberal opposition; and when the new parliament met, L. S. Huntington, a Liberal member from the Eastern Townships, rose in his place and charged the government with having corruptly sold the charter for the Pacific railway to Sir Hugh Allan and his associates in return for moneys paid into the Conservative campaign chest. This charge was eventually referred to a royal commission of judges, empowered to hear evidence under oath; and when, in the autumn of 1873, parliament met to receive the report of this commission, the air was electric. When the opposition moved a vote of censure, Macdonald indignantly rejected the accusation of corrupt motives. "These hands", he said, with a dramatic gesture, "are clean." As the debate proceeded, and especially when Donald Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona) announced that he could no longer "conscientiously" support the government, it became clear, however, that defeat was inevitable; and, without waiting for a vote of the House, Macdonald placed his resignation in the hands of the governor-general.

*Mackenzie
and the
railway
question*

Alexander Mackenzie, who succeeded Macdonald as prime minister, was a Scotsman who had begun life in Canada as a stone-mason, and who had risen by his own efforts to the highest place in the gift of his adopted country. An able debater and a tireless worker, he was also the soul of honesty. But he was at the same time naturally cautious and economical. He was afraid that the cost of a transcontinental railway would be more than the young Dominion could stand. He therefore allowed the arrangements for the building of the Pacific railway to lapse; and he proposed to substitute for the ocean-to-ocean railway a line of communication which should make use of the water-route of the Great Lakes

so far as was possible. He showed, indeed, no enthusiasm for the building of the railway across the prairies, and his five years of office saw the laying of only a few hundred miles of steel. His railway policy roused acute discontent in British Columbia, which felt that it had been betrayed; and in 1876 Lord Dufferin, the governor-general, had to visit British Columbia in order to try to allay the discontent. It was significant of the feeling in the province that an arch under which Lord Dufferin was invited to pass bore the legend "Carnarvon terms or separation"—the Carnarvon terms being those under which British Columbia had entered federation. But Lord Dufferin refused to pass beneath the arch until the word "separation" was changed to "reparation"; and in the end the danger of British Columbia seceding from the union was obviated.

The five years of the Mackenzie régime were not without notable achievements. Mackenzie did much to ensure the purity of elections and to raise the level of political morality in Canada by his introduction of voting by ballot, instead of open voting, which had been the practice previously. He created the Supreme Court at Ottawa, though appeals were still allowed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at Westminster; and it was under his government that there was established at Kingston the Royal Military College, many of the graduates of which have played a distinguished part in the wars of the Empire. It was under him, also, that Edward Blake, as minister of justice, made an important contribution to the growth of responsible government in Canada. Under the royal instructions, the governor-general of Canada had hitherto been empowered to exercise, on his own responsibility, the right of pardon, and he had been specifically ordered to reserve for the signification

*Achievements of the
Mackenzie
régime*

of the royal pleasure certain classes of bills passed by the Canadian parliament. Edward Blake, who regarded these powers of the governor-general as an infringement of the principle of responsible government, forced the British government to amend in these respects the royal instructions to the governor-general; and since that time the governor-general has exercised the power of pardon only on the advice of his cabinet, and the imperial power of disallowance of Canadian legislation has fallen into disuse. The governor-general retained, it is true, the power of reserving bills for the signification of the royal pleasure; but the matter was left to his discretion, and the result has been that for nearly half a century no bill passed by the Canadian parliament has been refused the royal assent.

*Mackenzie's
imitations*

Alexander Mackenzie, however, had grave defects as a tactician. Not only did he lack imagination, as was evident from his attitude toward the transcontinental railway, but he lacked also some of the qualities of leadership. He slaved at the work of his department when he should have been devoting himself to the oversight of the government; and he made the mistake of taking the portfolio of public works, which brought him into conflict with those members of the party who were in quest of government contracts. He was unfortunate, also, in that his period of office coincided with a succession of bad harvests in Canada and with a period of world-wide depression in trade. The depression in trade naturally gave rise to a demand, especially in Ontario and Quebec, for the protection of Canadian industry. Canada had imposed a tariff of customs duties on imports since before Confederation; but these duties had been ostensibly for revenue only. The demand now arose that they should be raised for protective purposes. Mackenzie, who was

a dyed-in-the-wool believer in free trade, declined to yield to this demand; but Macdonald, after some hesitation, espoused the policy of "protection", and by a happy turn of phraseology gave to it the name of the "National Policy"—thus emphasizing the idea that protection was nothing more or less than nationalism in the economic sphere.

It was on the platform of the "National Policy" that Macdonald came back to power in 1878; and one of the first acts of his new government was to frame a tariff which should fulfil his election pledges. This tariff, which was destined to have far-reaching effects, was introduced by Sir Leonard Tilley, the new finance minister, in the session of 1879. It was no half-hearted measure. It was designed frankly to protect the Canadian producer and manufacturer from foreign competition, and on many commodities it doubled the import duties. Since it was adopted, there have been a multitude of changes in the schedule of tariff duties in Canada; but the principle of protection embodied in the Customs Act of 1879 has never been abandoned, and for this reason the Act is a landmark in Canadian development.

Once the "National Policy" had been put into effect, the government next turned to the task of carrying out the project of the transcontinental railway which had been promised to British Columbia in 1871, but the building of which had been interrupted by Macdonald's defeat in 1873. Since the charter granted to Sir Hugh Allan had lapsed, it was decided in 1880 to entrust the building and operation of the railway to a new company—to be known as the Canadian Pacific Railway—under the presidency of George Stephen (afterwards Lord Mountstephen), and with the financial backing of Donald Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona). The

terms offered to this company seemed very generous. It was to receive a subsidy of \$25,000,000 in cash, and twenty-five million acres of land in the West, as well as the several hundred miles of railway already built. But events proved these terms none too generous. The cost of building the railway greatly exceeded the estimates; and the company underwent several financial crises. Donald Smith had to place at the disposal of the company the whole of his fortune, and faced beggary if it failed. In 1883 the company had to come to the government with a request for a loan of \$22,500,000—a sum almost equal to the annual public revenue of Canada at that time. Macdonald told Stephen that he might as well “ask for the planet Jupiter”; and only when the minister of railways, John Henry Pope, pointed out that “the day the Canadian Pacific busts, the Conservative party busts the day after”, did the government agree to find the money. Two years later another crisis occurred, when Stephen received from Van Horne, the general manager of the company, the following telegram:

Have no means of paying wages, pay car can't be sent out, and unless we get immediate relief we must stop. Please inform Premier and Finance Minister. Do not be surprised, or blame me, if an immediate and most serious catastrophe occurs.

Fortunately, only a further loan of \$5,000,000 was needed. Macdonald succeeded in securing this in the face of a divided cabinet and a reluctant party caucus; and the Canadian Pacific Railway was pushed to completion. On November 7, 1885, the last spike of the main line was driven home by Donald Smith at Craigellachie, a secluded hamlet in British Columbia. From the first the railway proved a commercial success; and within a few years it was able to repay to the people of Canada all the money it had borrowed.

The Canadian Pacific Railway completed the work of the Fathers of Confederation. For many years it gave to Canada almost the only geographical unity it possessed; and it made possible for the first time the settlement and development of the Great West.¹ It also gave to the world a striking illustration of what Canadian enterprise could accomplish. To build a railway, in a fraction of the time taken to cross the continent by the American railway engineers to the south, not only through the rocks and muskegs north of Lake Superior, but also across what Edward Blake called the "sea of mountains" between the prairies and the Pacific Ocean, was an engineering feat of the first magnitude, and one of which Canadians had a right to be proud.

*What the
railway
meant*

The speed with which the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed was fortunate; for the railway gangs were still working on the last stretches of the line when there occurred in the Saskatchewan country a second North-West Rebellion, a rebellion so serious that it was necessary to rush an expeditionary force by rail from eastern Canada to crush it. The causes of this outbreak were not unlike those of the Red River insurrection of 1869-70. The half-breeds who constituted, with the Indians and a few white settlers, the population of the prairies at this time, had become unsettled with the advance of civilization in the West. They found the buffalo herds and the fur-bearing animals, on which they depended for a livelihood, gradually disappearing; and they became apprehensive even about the security of their titles to the long river lots on which they had squatted in the valley of the Saskatchewan. Finding that their complaints received scant attention from Ottawa, which was engrossed with other things, they sent a deputation down

*The second
North West
Rebellion*

¹For an account of this, see page 342.

to Montana to invite Louis Riel, who was living in that state, to return to Canada to lead them in an attempt to defend their rights. Riel, who had actually spent some time in an insane asylum since 1870, was perhaps the worst leader they could have chosen. Visionary and erratic, he formed in the Saskatchewan country a "provisional government", of which he himself became president; and he gathered about him an armed force of



A BUFFALO HUNT

half-breed buffalo hunters. Part of this force came, on March 26, 1885, into collision with the North-West Mounted Police at Duck Lake; and the Police were forced to retreat with some loss of life. Some of the Indians, encouraged by this half-breed victory, broke loose; and a band of Crees under Chief Big Bear massacred several of the inhabitants of the village of Frog Lake, east of Edmonton. The fear of a general Indian

uprising hung over the North-West like a nightmare. As soon as the news of Duck Lake and Frog Lake was



AN INDIAN CHIEF

flashed over the wires to Ottawa, the government took instant action. A force of militia was organized, under

Major-General Middleton, and was dispatched to the West by the partially completed line of steel. Within a few days General Middleton was moving on Riel's headquarters at Batoche, near Prince Albert, while two other columns, under Colonel Otter and General Strange, were advancing on Battleford and Edmonton. On May 12, Middleton's column stormed Batoche and scattered the rebels. Riel was captured, and later in the summer Big Bear also fell into the hands of the Police.

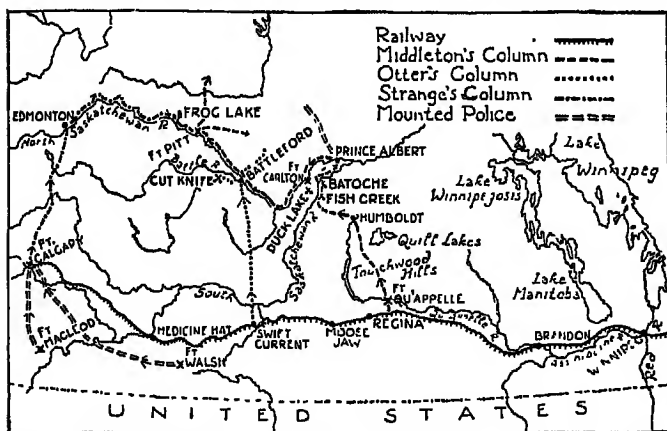


THE BATTLE OF BATOCHE

*After-effects
of the
rebellion*

With the capture of Riel the rebellion collapsed, and people once again breathed freely. But the after-effects of the rebellion were disastrous. It was the worst possible advertisement for the North-West, and for a good number of years it deterred settlers from going into that country in any considerable quantity. The problem of what should be done with Riel, moreover, was destined to prove a source of great embarrassment to the govern-

ment, and indeed to threaten the cause of national unity. When Riel was brought, with a number of his followers, to trial at Regina in the autumn of 1885, on a charge of high treason, he was found guilty and was condemned to be hanged, while eighteen of his followers were condemned to be imprisoned. But Riel's compatriots in Quebec—drawn to him by ties of blood, convinced that he was more sinned against than sinning and that he was not wholly responsible for his actions—demanded that



THE NORTH-WEST REBELLION, 1885

the sentence be commuted. On the other hand, the people of Ontario—who had not forgotten the judicial murder of Thomas Scott in 1869, and had the fear of an Indian rising in the West still vividly present in their minds—demanded that Riel should pay the extreme penalty. The *Toronto Mail*, the chief organ of the Conservative party in Ontario, avowed that, rather than submit to dictation from Quebec in such a matter, "Ontario would smash Confederation into its original fragments, preferring that the dream of a united Canada

should be shattered forever than that unity should be purchased at the price of equity". In the end the government decided that the law must take its course; and on November 16, 1885, Riel paid the penalty of his mad career on the scaffold in the Mounted Police barracks at Regina. But his execution deeply outraged the feeling of French Canada, and left an aftermath of bitterness which did not soon die out.

*The
Jesuits'
Estates
controversy*

Two or three years later a recrudescence of feeling between Ontario and Quebec occurred over what was known as the Jesuits' Estates controversy. In 1888 the Liberal government of the province of Quebec, under Honoré Mercier, placed on the statute book an Act compensating the Jesuits to the extent of \$400,000 for the loss of their estates in Canada over a century before. This Act roused the opposition of the more militant Protestants in Ontario, and gave rise to the formation of such organizations as the Equal Rights Association and the Protestant Protective Association. A demand was made on the floor of parliament that the Dominion government should disallow the provincial Act. But both Macdonald and Laurier took the stand that the matter was one solely for the people of Quebec to decide, and that they could do what they liked with their own money, even to the point of "throwing it into the sea". Eventually only thirteen members of parliament—"the noble thirteen", as their admirers called them; "the devil's dozen", as Macdonald dubbed them—voted for the disallowance of the Act.

*Provincial
rights*

Fortunately, this period saw also the gradual definition of the relations between the Dominion and the provinces. Sir John Macdonald, who had been, as we have seen, in favour of a legislative rather than a federal union of the provinces, took the view that the provincial legislatures

were merely "glorified county councils", and were subordinate to the Dominion parliament. Both the Macdonald and Mackenzie governments, for example, repeatedly disallowed provincial legislation. This view of the relation between the provinces and the Dominion, was, however, challenged by Sir Oliver Mowat, who was prime minister of Ontario from 1873 to 1896. Mowat espoused the cause of "provincial rights"; and in a long series of disputes which were taken to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at Westminster for decision, he was almost uniformly successful. The Judicial Committee ruled that the provincial legislatures were in no sense subordinate to the Dominion parliament, but enjoyed, within the sphere assigned to them, "authority as plenary and as ample . . . as the Imperial Parliament in the plenitude of its powers possessed or could bestow". The Dominion power of disallowance thereafter fell into disuse; and thus a fruitful source of friction between the provinces and the Dominion was removed.

In 1891 the day of Sir John Macdonald came to an end. *The death of Macdonald*
In that year there took place a general election, in which the Liberals appealed to the country on the platform of "commercial union" with the United States, or (as it was more cautiously described) "unrestricted reciprocity". Macdonald, who believed that commercial union would be the sure precursor of political union, threw himself into the election contest with unsparing vigour. The electors were called upon to support "the old flag, the old leader, and the old policy"; and in Macdonald's election address there occurred these famous words:

A British subject I was born—a British subject I will die.
With my utmost effort, with my latest breath, will I oppose
the "veiled treason" which attempts by sordid means and
mercenary proffers to lure our people from their allegiance

These words were prophetic. The election campaign,

which took place in wintry weather, overtaxed the strength of Macdonald, now an old man of seventy-six years of age; and election day found him in bed under the physician's care. A few weeks later he suffered a stroke of paralysis; and on June 6, 1891, he breathed his last.

*The place of
Macdonald
in
Canadian
history*

The death of Macdonald marked the end of an epoch in Canadian history. For nearly half a century the story of his life had been the story of Canadian politics. He had been a member of parliament for forty-eight years, a cabinet minister for thirty-one, and prime minister for twenty-one. That his record was without blemish he would have been the first to deny. Though a profound student of human nature, he studied human nature, as Goldwin Smith said, "too much on the weak side". Except in matters which he regarded as vital—such as loyalty to the Empire and the preservation of law and order—he was frankly an opportunist. But, after all, the true test of statesmanship is achievement; and here Macdonald stands very high in the honour roll of Canadian statesmen. He was the chief architect of the Confederation of 1867; and it was under his government that the new Dominion was extended from ocean to ocean. Under him the railways were built which linked together the provinces of the Dominion with bands of steel; and under him the "National Policy" of protection was inaugurated. During his régime, in fact, the foundations were laid for the wonderful development of Canada which was destined to take place after he had passed from the scene.

See the biographies of Macdonald cited above.

§ 2. THE LAURIER RÉGIME

*Outline
of the
period*

WITHIN the five calendar years following the death of Macdonald in 1891, Canada had five successive prime

ministers. At first the mantle of Macdonald fell on Sir John Abbott, the Conservative leader in the Senate, who was chosen prime minister because, as he himself put it, he was "not particularly obnoxious to anybody". But in 1892 Abbott was compelled by failing health to resign office; and he was succeeded by Sir John Thompson, a very able man who had been minister of justice under Abbott and under Macdonald. Unhappily, Thompson's career was cut short by his sudden and tragic death while staying with Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle in 1894. The prime ministry then devolved upon Sir Mackenzie Bowell, a veteran journalist of Ontario, who had been grand master of the Orange Association of North America; but in the spring of 1896 Bowell was forced by dissensions in his government to retire, and his place was taken by Sir Charles Tupper, who had been for many years Canadian high commissioner in London. Tupper appealed to the country in a general election in the summer of 1896, and suffered a decisive defeat. Thereupon Wilfrid Laurier, who had been for nine years leader of the Liberal party, assumed office as prime minister, and formed a government which remained in power continuously for fifteen years, until its defeat in the general elections of 1911.

The early years of the last decade of the nineteenth century were a period in which Canada marked time. There were during the period some interesting developments in external policy. In 1893 a controversy over the seal-fishing in the Bering Sea, which the United States had contended was a "closed sea" belonging to her, was settled in favour of the Canadian point of view by an international tribunal of arbitration of which Sir John Thompson was a member; and in 1894 Thompson

*The early
nineties*

made a notable attempt to persuade the British government to remove some restrictions which then existed on colonial shipping and colonial copyright.

*The
Manitoba
Schools
question*

But the only domestic question which loomed large in the public mind during this period was one which related to the schools of Manitoba. From the first there had been in Manitoba a French-speaking Roman Catholic population descended from the early French fur traders and *voyageurs*. These people had enjoyed, after the creation of the province of Manitoba, the privilege of having "separate schools"; but in 1890 these schools were abolished by the legislature of Manitoba, and immediately a demand arose, especially in the province of Quebec, that the Dominion parliament should override the action of Manitoba and restore the separate schools in that province. Bowell and Tupper both committed themselves to bringing in what was called "remedial legislation"; and it was over this legislation that the general election of 1896 was chiefly fought. Laurier took the ground that the question should be settled by conciliation, rather than by coercion; and the result of the elections vindicated his point of view. Curiously enough, Manitoba was the only province in which a majority was polled for "coercion".

*The
Laurier
government*

As the turn of the century drew near, however, a new era opened in Canadian affairs. "There is a tide in the affairs of men", as Brutus said, "which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." It must be admitted that the Laurier government took the tide at its flood. There had been those who had doubted Laurier's capacity for leadership. With his frail physique, his scholarly tastes, his gentle and courtly manners, he seemed more a student than a man of action. But people soon came to realize that beneath his velvet glove there was an iron hand.

From the first he showed himself to be the master of the administration; and this despite the fact that he gathered about him a government—described as “a ministry of all



SIR WILFRID LAURIER

the talents”—of exceptional strength. In it were included no less than three of the provincial prime ministers, Sir Oliver Mowat from Ontario, A. G. Blair from New Brunswick, and W. S. Fielding from Nova Scotia; and two

other members of it had previously been prime ministers of Quebec and of Prince Edward Island. For the amazing development of Canada which took place as the twentieth century dawned, the Laurier government must be given no small share of the credit. But, at the same time, it must be confessed that circumstances conspired to aid in this development. In the dying years of the nineteenth century, there occurred a series of events which brought Canada before the eyes of the world as never before—or at least never since Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory on the Plains of Abraham—and which thus contributed in substantial measure to the change in Canada's fortunes.

*Queen
Victoria's
diamond
jubilee*

The first of these events was the celebration in 1897 of the diamond jubilee of the coronation of Queen Victoria. As the prime minister of Canada, Laurier attended in London the ceremonies connected with the celebration, as well as the sessions of the Colonial Conference held at the same time; and here he became the lion of the hour. He received from Queen Victoria the honour of knighthood; and he was given a popular ovation second only to that enjoyed by the aged queen herself. The fact that he, a Canadian of French descent, should represent at the jubilee the chief of Great Britain's overseas dominions—to say nothing of his striking and picturesque appearance, his old-fashioned courtesy, his silver-tongued eloquence—captured the public imagination. It was also not without its effect that, just before the jubilee celebration, the Laurier government inaugurated a system of "imperial preferences" in trade—that is to say, a system of lower tariffs on British imports—and that, at the celebration, Laurier seemed for the moment to be captivated by the splendid vision of imperial unity which was at that time obtaining a hold on men's minds. "It would be", he said in London, "the proudest moment

of my life if I could see a Canadian of French descent affirming the principles of freedom in the parliament of Great Britain." Public attention, not only in Great Britain, but in other countries, was thus drawn to Canada as it had not been drawn since Canada became a dominion.

A second event which turned the eyes of the world toward Canada in these years was the Yukon gold rush of 1898. In 1896 gold was found in great quantities on the Klondike River; and in the summer of 1897 a little steamer reached Seattle with nearly a million dollars' worth of gold on board. Immediately, there was a stampede of prospectors into the Yukon which recalled the gold rush into California nearly half a century earlier. Adventurers, not only from the Pacific coast, but from all over the world, men and women, old and young, poured through the snow-clad mountain passes toward Dawson City, the little capital of Yukon, in quest of the precious metal. Not all the gold-seekers found gold, and there were gruesome tragedies enacted amid the gold-diggers. But the romance of the gold rush proved excellent copy for the journalist, the novelist, and even the poet; and Canada received, in particular, a splendid advertisement from the way in which the Royal North-West Mounted Police kept the Queen's peace among the wild and turbulent elements with which they had to deal. The Yukon gold rush rendered acute, moreover, the long-standing dispute between Great Britain and the United States over the Alaska boundary¹, and this served to keep alive public interest in the Yukon long after the more spectacular phases of the gold rush had passed away.

¹ For an account of this dispute, see page 317.

*The South
African
War*

A third episode which brought Canada into the lime-light was the South African War.¹ With this war, which was waged against the Boers, or Dutch farmers, of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in South Africa, Canada had no direct concern; but the Canadian parliament authorized the dispatch to the theatre of operations of three successive contingents of Canadian volunteers. On the South African veldt the Canadians, most of whom were "dead shots" and daring horsemen, acquitted themselves well; and they had the distinction of being largely instrumental in forcing the surrender of the Boer general, Cronje, at Paardeberg in February, 1900. Perhaps because this was the first occasion on which Canadian troops, as such, had fought shoulder to shoulder with troops from other parts of the Empire, the exploits of the Canadians won especial notice; and the part that Canada played in the war once again turned the eyes of the world toward her.

*The effect
of these
events*

The cumulative effect of these events it would be difficult to exaggerate. From being a little-known part of the British Empire, about which the people of other countries, including the mother country, were as a rule profoundly ignorant, Canada became suddenly the cynosure of all eyes. This fact had several important results. In the first place, it resulted, as we shall see, in an influx into the Dominion of both immigrants and capital on a scale hitherto unknown; and in the second place, it gave Canadians a justifiable self-importance, a confidence in themselves and in the future of their country which too many of them had hitherto lacked. This feeling was well expressed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his famous prophecy: "The nineteenth century was the century of

¹ For a fuller account of the South African War, see page 321.

the United States; the twentieth century will be the century of Canada."

The immigration policy of the Laurier Government was not essentially a new departure. For years both the Canadian government and the Canadian Pacific Railway had been seeking to induce settlers to come into the country, though with only moderate success. What the Laurier government did was to infuse into its immigration policy an energy and a resourcefulness which enabled it to take full advantage of the new situation. In 1897 Laurier brought into his cabinet, as minister of the interior, Clifford (later Sir Clifford) Sifton, a westerner of great administrative ability, who believed that Canada's greatest need was more settlers to develop her copious natural resources. Sifton reorganized the immigration service of the Dominion, and sent out, not only to Great Britain and the United States, but even to the countries of continental Europe, a small army of immigration agents. The propaganda on which these agents embarked soon produced results; and before long hundreds of thousands of immigrants were flocking into the Canadian ports and over the United States border. Most of these immigrants poured into the Canadian West where there were still free homesteads to be had; and so rapidly did the population of the West increase that in 1905 it became necessary to create in the North-West Territories two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan. But all parts of the country felt the effects of the immigration. Business began to "boom"; the more industrialized eastern provinces found in the West a new market; Canada's foreign trade, both incoming and outgoing, increased by leaps and bounds; and British and American capital began to flow into Canada as never

before. A wave of prosperity swept over the country which was unprecedented.

*The
railway
problem*

The tide of immigration, and especially the development of the West, created during these years an acute problem in railway transportation. The Canadian Pacific Railway, with its single line of track between Port Arthur and Winnipeg, became unable to handle the traffic in freight and passengers between east and west. Winnipeg became a bottle-neck which was continually choked. Settlers, moreover, were finding their way into districts remote from the railway, and needed access to their markets. In order to relieve this situation, two daring and ingenious railway builders, Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann, projected the Canadian Northern Railway, which, financed partly by private capital and partly by government guarantees, gradually spread across the continent; and later the Grand Trunk Railway, which had been feeling for some time the need of through connections, applied to the Laurier government for aid in building a third transcontinental railway, to be known as the Grand Trunk Pacific, north of the Canadian Northern and the Canadian Pacific. Laurier, who was dubious about the ability of Canada to support three transcontinental railway systems, tried to persuade the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Northern to join hands, but he was unsuccessful in his attempt; and finally he agreed to help the Grand Trunk to carry out its project. The government itself undertook to build the line from Moncton to Winnipeg, on the understanding that it would be leased to the Grand Trunk Railway on moderate terms; and in the construction of the line from Winnipeg to Prince Rupert on the Pacific, it assisted by the guarantee of bonds. The result was in one way disastrous. During the

Great War both the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific became insolvent; and in the end they had to be taken over by the Canadian government, and absorbed in the Canadian National Railway system, owned by the Canadian people. Yet, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that they contributed greatly to the opening up of Canada. They gave access to fertile districts which would never have been opened up without them; and the vast sums spent on their construction did much to stimulate the prosperity of Canada during these years.

Parallel with the material development of Canada *Autonomy* during the Laurier régime, there took place in the Dominion a striking development in self-government or "autonomy". Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a believer in the British Empire. He showed his loyalty to the Empire in his adoption and repeated extension of the principle of the "imperial preference"; and it was the postmaster-general in his government, William (later Sir William) Mulock, who introduced in 1898 the "imperial penny postage". But Laurier conceived of the British Empire as "a galaxy of free nations" bound together by a common allegiance to the Crown, but each enjoying the full right to regulate its own affairs. This view of imperial relations he championed on Parliament Hill at Ottawa and at repeated Imperial Conferences in London; and it determined the policy of his government in regard to imperial affairs.

It was during the South African War that the results *Military and naval defence* of Laurier's conception of imperial relations first became evident. When the demand arose that Canada should send an expeditionary force to South Africa, Laurier resisted the demand until the Canadian parliament had spoken. It was true, he argued, that while

Great Britain was at war, Canada was at war; but he maintained that the extent of Canada's participation in the war was a matter for the representatives of the Canadian people to decide. It was, therefore, only when the Canadian parliament had given its authority that the Canadian contingents for South Africa were raised and dispatched. It is worthy of note, moreover, that it was during the South African war that the last British troops were withdrawn from Canadian soil—"the withdrawal of the legions", it has been called, in allusion to the last days of the Roman Empire—and that the fortifications at Halifax and Esquimalt, coaling-stations and drydocks of the British navy, were handed over to the Canadian militia. A few years later the command of the Canadian militia, which had hitherto been entrusted to an imperial officer, came to be invested in a Canadian, as the result of a quarrel which broke out in 1903 between the Laurier government and the last British commander-in-chief of the Canadian militia, the gallant but hot-headed Lord Dundonald. Finally, in 1910, the Laurier government launched the beginnings of a Canadian navy, as distinct from the British navy. Thus Canada assumed, during the Laurier régime, full responsibility for her own defence, internal and external, military and naval.

*External
relations*

It was not only in the sphere of defence, however, that developments occurred. In 1908, Laurier acquired for Canada what was described as "the treaty-making power". This term was not strictly accurate, for what Canada obtained was merely the right to make informal trade agreements with other countries, and a promise that she would not be bound by imperial treaties without her express consent. But this was not far short of obtaining the treaty-making power, for all practical

purposes. In 1910, also, the Laurier government placed upon the statute book an Act which asserted the right of Canada to control and regulate even British immigration coming to her shores. That is to say, Canada assumed the right of excluding British immigrants who were deemed undesirable. This involved a distinction between British citizenship and Canadian citizenship, and was a striking exemplification of Laurier's theory of Empire. In these and other ways "Our Lady of the Snows", as Rudyard Kipling had dubbed Canada, announced to the world:

*Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in mine own.*

Another interesting tendency discernible during the Laurier régime was the growth of what has been called "government by commission". During the nineteenth century all phases of public activity in Canada came under the direct supervision of government departments; but, with the development of Canada in the early years of the twentieth century, it came to be seen that certain phases of public activity ought to be removed from direct political control and placed under the supervision of non-partisan commissions—should be, in short, "taken out of politics". These commissions, which are composed of distinguished public men, who take no part in politics and sometimes even serve without pay, have contributed in no small measure to the welfare of Canada. One of the earliest of them is the Ottawa Improvement Commission appointed in 1899, which has done so much to beautify the capital of the Dominion. Another was the Board of Railway Commissioners, appointed in 1903 to exercise supervision over the railway, telegraph, telephone, and express companies of the Dominion, especially in regard to rates. Still another important com-

*Government
by
commission*

mission appointed by the Laurier government, but since abolished, was the Conservation Commission, set up in 1909, which was charged with the duty of taking stock of Canada's natural resources and rousing public opinion with a view to their conservation.

*The Civil
Service
Commission*

But perhaps the most notable of the commissions erected during this period was the Civil Service Commission. Until the creation of this commission in 1908, all appointments in the civil service of Canada were made by the government of the day, and were largely, though not exclusively, dictated by political patronage. "The government must support its supporters", was the argument by which John Sandfield Macdonald, the first prime minister of Ontario, defended what was known as "the spoils system". But political patronage resulted in such abuses that in 1907 a royal commission recommended that it should be curbed; and the following year the Civil Service Act placed the "inside" service—that is, the civil servants in the offices of the government—under a commission which should conduct examinations and regulate salaries. The result has been the elimination, to a large extent, of "the spoils system" in Canadian government, and the creation of a large body of skilled civil servants whose services, so long as they do not meddle in politics, are at the disposal of any Canadian government which may attain power.

*The Ontario
Hydro-
Electric
Power
Commission*

It should perhaps be added that, during the same period, there was created in 1908 in Ontario, by the government of Sir James Whitney, the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission, which has come to control the largest publicly owned hydro-electric power business in the world.

Reciprocity

In 1911 the Laurier government decided to appeal to the people for the fourth time in a general election. Not

content with basing its appeal merely on its record of achievement, it sought for and found a new plank for its platform which, it was expected, would be popular with the electors. This was the proposal of reciprocity in trade with the United States. Many attempts had been made by Canadian statesmen to revive reciprocal trade relations between the United States and Canada, such as had proved such a blessing to Canada under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854; but these attempts had met with repeated rebuffs. By what seemed singular good fortune, it was found in 1911 that the American government was at last favourable to a measure of reciprocity in trade with Canada. The Laurier government, therefore, succeeded in negotiating an agreement with the United States, by which, if ratified, there would be free trade between the two countries in natural products; and over the ratification of this agreement the election was fought. The supporters of the government argued that, since reciprocity would throw open to the Canadian producer the vast markets of the United States, it would ensure for Canada a new era of prosperity. The opponents of the government, on the other hand, prophesied that reciprocity would undo the work of the National Policy, and would lead to commercial, and even to political, union with the United States. As it happened, colour was lent to this view by some foolish utterances of American public men. The president of the United States, for instance, described Canada as being "at the parting of the ways"; and the speaker of the American House of Representatives said that he hoped "to see the day when the American flag will float over every square foot of the British North American possessions". It was in vain that Laurier, then as always a loyal adherent

of the British connection, strove to combat the arguments of his opponents. When the election returns came in, it was found that reciprocity, though ratified by the American congress, had been rejected by the Canadian people; and that the Laurier régime had come to an end.

The official life of Laurier is O. D. Skelton, *The Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (2 vols., Toronto, 1921); but an admirable treatment of the Laurier régime is to be found in Sir J. Willison, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party* (2 vols., Toronto, 1903; new ed., Toronto, 1927). Reference should also be made to O. D. Skelton, *The Day of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Toronto, 1910) and J. W. Daffoe, *Laurier: A Study in Canadian Politics* (Toronto, 1928).

§ 3. THE LAST TWENTY YEARS

*Outline
of the
period*

THE political history of Canada since 1911 has been disturbed and chaotic. On the defeat of Laurier, the duty of forming a new government was confided to Mr. R. L. (later Sir Robert) Borden, who had been leader of the opposition since the retirement from political life of the veteran Sir Charles Tupper in 1901. The Borden government continued in power until after the close of the Great War of 1914-18; but in 1917 it was reorganized, and a number of those Liberals were included in it who supported the proposal of the government to introduce "conscription" or compulsory military service. In 1920 Sir Robert Borden, whose health had suffered from the strain of the war years, retired from public life; and his place as prime minister was taken by one of his lieutenants, Mr. Arthur Meighen. But the following year Mr. Meighen was defeated in a general election by the combined forces of the Liberals under Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, who had succeeded to the leadership of the Liberal party after the death in 1919 of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and of a new Farmers' or Progressive party, led

by Mr. T. A. Crerar. Mr. Mackenzie King, whose supporters were in a majority of one over all other parties, was entrusted with the formation of a government; and the Mackenzie King government—with the exception of a few weeks in 1926, when Mr. Meighen resumed control of affairs—continued in office from that day until its defeat in the election of 1930.

By far the most important and far-reaching event of these years was the Great War; and it was about the Great War that most of the problems and achievements of the period centred. Even before its outbreak in 1914, the Great War cast its shadow athwart Canadian politics; during its course it dominated the situation; and after it was over it left in its train a series of grave problems, many of which are still with us. The first part of the period was one of war effort; the second part has been one of reconstruction.

The Borden government, which came into power in 1911, was predominantly imperialistic in sentiment. While no one perhaps expected that the Great War would break out when it did, there were premonitory rumblings of the coming storm; and the Borden government showed itself anxious to do what it could to enable Canada to stand by the mother country when the storm broke. Colonel (later General Sir) Sam Hughes, the minister of militia, devoted himself with great energy to strengthening the Canadian militia, by building armories, and by forming in schools and universities new cadet corps for the training of officers. The government, without discarding the principle of a Canadian navy, proposed to present three dreadnoughts of the latest design to the British navy, as an earnest of Canada's solidarity with the Empire. This proposal, however, as it turned out,

while it passed the House of Commons, was thrown out by the Canadian Senate.

*Canada's
war effort*

But, when the war did break out, there was no uncertainty in the attitude either of the Canadian government or of the Canadian people. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as leader of the opposition, proclaimed a truce to party warfare, and placed himself loyally behind the efforts of the government. The latter immediately authorized the dispatch to Europe of a Canadian expeditionary force of one division; and on September 22, 1914—little more than a month and a half after the declaration of war—there set sail from Quebec a force of no fewer than 33,000 men. In the years that followed this force was greatly augmented. Before the war had ended, over 600,000 men had been enlisted in the Canadian expeditionary forces; and of this number about 425,000 went overseas. The task of raising, training, and equipping an army of this magnitude, in a country where the active militia did not number 65,000 and the permanent militia only 3,500, was one of formidable dimensions; and its successful achievement reflected the greatest credit both on the Canadian government and on the Canadian people.

*Munitions
and food*

But it was not only man-power that Canada supplied. As the war dragged on Canada embarked on the manufacture of munitions of war; and it is estimated that by 1918 there were no fewer than 300,000 men and women engaged in this work, under the supervision of Sir Joseph Flavell, the chairman of the Imperial Munitions Board. Canadian plants turned out, during the war, no fewer than 75,000,000 shells; and it is a remarkable fact that, toward the end of the struggle, more than half of the shrapnel shells used in 18-pounders on the British front were of

Canadian manufacture. In the same way, Canada contributed greatly to the food supplies of the allied countries. Despite a scarcity of labour in Canada, caused by the enlistments in the army, Canadian farmers succeeded in greatly increasing their output, while at the same time the general public was persuaded to reduce its consumption of food. The result was an export of food-stuffs to the war-ridden countries of Europe that was many times as large as before the war. The annual export of wheat flour, for instance, jumped from less than half a million barrels in 1914 to nearly ten million in 1918, and that of beef from about five million pounds to over eighty-five million.

No less important than the contribution made by Canada of men, munitions, and food was her financial contribution, for in the winning of the war the "silver bullet" played a part no less decisive than the leaden bullet. ^{"The silver bullet"} The cost of the war to the Dominion was so stupendous that Canada's national debt, which before the war had stood at about \$336,000,000, had quadrupled in size by the end of 1918. To raise this money, the government appealed to the people of Canada to subscribe to a series of Victory Loans; and the appeal was answered in such a way that the Victory Loans of 1917 and 1918 were actually over-subscribed. In order to pay the interest on the debts thus contracted, the government had to find new sources of revenue; and some of the war taxes which were imposed as emergency measures have never been abandoned—such as the tax on cheques, the amusement taxes, the luxury taxes, and the Dominion income tax.

The problems with which the government of Canada had to contend during the war were, however, simple ^{Demobilisation}

compared with those which were created by the war. The first and most urgent of these was that of demobilization. It was easier to raise an army of half a million than to return it to civil life. By means of liberal gratuities, by means of a scheme of soldier-settlement on the land, and by means of a preference given to returned soldiers applying for positions in the gift of the government, the country did what it could to render the civil re-establishment of Canada's army as easy as possible. It also made provision, by means of military hospitals and pensions, for the care of those whose health had been shattered by the war. But no one can pretend that the return of Canada's soldiers to civil life has not been accompanied by a good deal of hardship and tragedy; and it is a significant fact that it has been found necessary to revise and extend repeatedly the regulations governing soldiers' pensions. The cost of these pensions alone has added a heavy sum to the obligations which Canada incurred during the war.

Railways

Another grave problem has been that of the railways. When the Canadian Northern was taken over by the government during the war, and the Grand Trunk and Grand Trunk Pacific soon after its close, these railways were hopelessly bankrupt. The Canadian Pacific Railway, which remained under private management, was the only Canadian railway that withstood the strain of the war years; and its success under Sir William VanHorne, Lord Shaughnessy, and Mr. E. W. Beatty has done much for Canada. In 1919 the deficit on the government-owned railways amounted to the staggering figure of \$40,000,000; and in 1920 the deficit rose to \$60,000,000. By the consolidation of these railways in 1920 in the Canadian National Railway

system, many economies have been effected; and under the able management, first of Mr. D. B. Hanna, and later of Sir Henry Thornton, who was made president of the Canadian National Railways in 1922, a considerable reduction in the annual deficit has been achieved. In 1926, for example, the deficit was less than \$30,000,000. But there is still a long way to go before the revenues of the Canadian National Railways will balance expenditure; and in the meantime the deficits will have to be met by the Canadian tax-payer.

Another problem has been that of immigration. During the war the influx of immigrants into Canada virtually stopped. A revival of the flow after the war would perhaps have helped in solving Canada's railway problem and in developing Canada's resources; but there has been evident in the country in recent years a strong antipathy to a recurrence of the somewhat indiscriminate immigration of pre-war years. As a result, the tendency has been to encourage immigration only of a restricted character. In 1919 the experiment was tried of using a literacy test as a basis of selection; and in the budget of 1923 special encouragement was given to the immigration of children, domestic servants, and bona fide settlers. Canada's immigration policy since the war has been well described as that of "the open door, with a firm hand on the knob".

The war has left its mark even on the suffrage. Before the war female suffrage was unknown either in the federal or provincial spheres—with this exception, that in certain municipalities women owning property had a vote. But the war record of the women of Canada was of such a character that it was felt wrong to withhold from them a voice in the affairs of the country. In 1916

women were given the vote in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba; and in 1917 in British Columbia and Ontario. The War Times Election Act of 1917 provided also for partial female suffrage in the Dominion; and in 1920 equal suffrage was established in Dominion elections for all British citizens, whether male or female, of twenty-one years of age. Since that time women have been eligible, not only to vote, but also to sit in the Dominion parliament and the provincial legislatures (except the legislature of the province of Quebec, which has hitherto rejected female suffrage); and in 1929 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council finally ruled that women were eligible for appointment to the Canadian Senate.

"Prohibition"

Another legacy of the war has been the "prohibition" question. The movement for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors began in Canada more than a hundred years ago; but it was only during the war that it achieved success. The sale of liquor was prohibited in all the Canadian provinces except Quebec; and the manufacture of liquor was temporarily prohibited by the Dominion parliament, in order to conserve grain. As a war measure, prohibition met with the support and approval of the great body of the Canadian people; but since the war there has been a widespread tendency to replace it with government control of the sale of liquor. This method of dealing with the problem, which was first adopted by the province of Quebec, has since been adopted in all the provinces of Canada except Prince Edward Island.

*The
perspective
of events*

Such are some of the issues which have occupied the stage of Canadian politics during recent years. A full

discussion of these and other issues would be inappropriate here; since we are as yet too near the event to be able to see things in a proper perspective. Issues which seem to us of overwhelming importance may be relegated to comparative obscurity by the historians of the future; and events which we think of no importance may be found some day to be pregnant with significance. But this sketch may suffice to indicate at least the general features of the period.

A fuller account of the history of these years will be found in C. Wittke, *A History of Canada* (New York, 1928).

PART III: EXTERNAL RELATIONS

Surely the lion's breed is strong
To front the world alone.

—CHARLES G D ROBERTS, *Canada*

A colony, yet a nation—words never before in the
history of the world associated together.

—SIR WILFRID LAURIER, *Speech in London, England, 1897*

§ 1. RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

THE Dominion of Canada has been in the peculiar position of having only one near neighbour, the United States of America; and, consequently, the story of her external relations has been mainly the story of her relations with this great country. Between Canada and the United States there has been peace since the Treaty of Ghent brought to a close the war of 1812; but this does not mean that there has not been at times, between the two countries, serious friction, or even the threat of war. American filibusters made trouble along the Canadian border for a year after the rebellion of 1837; and in 1866—at the moment when the new

*One
hundred
years of
peace*

Dominion was in its birth-pangs—Irish Americans belonging to the Fenian organization actually invaded Canadian soil. On both these occasions the government of the United States preserved a correct and friendly attitude; but there were elements in the United States whose attitude was neither correct nor friendly. The possibility of wresting Canada from Great Britain, so that the Stars and Stripes might fly over the whole of the North American continent, long appealed to a certain type of American. This has made the preservation of peace between the two countries at times peculiarly difficult; and if the peace has now been kept inviolate for over a hundred years, it is only because the majority of people on both sides of the boundary line have kept cool heads.

*Causes of
friction*

Causes of friction have not often been wanting. Chief among these have been the disputes which have arisen over the boundary line between the two countries. Those who drew up the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 had at their disposal no adequate maps; and, consequently, their attempt to define the boundaries between that part of North America which remained under the British Crown and that which did not, gave rise to a number of ambiguities. It was only in 1798 that a joint British and American commission arrived at a decision as to the river which separated New Brunswick from American territory; and for many years there was controversy as to how far north this boundary ran. In 1815 a joint commission, to which the matter was referred by the Treaty of Ghent, hopelessly disagreed; and in 1831 an award by the King of the Netherlands, to whom the dispute was referred, was rejected by the United States. Not until 1842 was the boundary finally settled by what

is known as "the Ashburton treaty". Lord Ashburton, whom the British government appointed to negotiate direct with Daniel Webster, the secretary of state for the United States, agreed to a line which gave the United States a great wedge of territory which jutted north between Quebec and New Brunswick, and which cut off communication between these provinces by the most direct route. From that day to this Lord Ashburton has been held up to obloquy as having betrayed the interests of Canada. But scholars are now agreed that probably Lord Ashburton got the best terms which were possible under the circumstances; and it is worthy of note that Daniel Webster was attacked in his own country on the ground that the treaty was "a British victory". It was unfortunate that the territory in dispute should have been of such slight importance to the United States and of such vital importance to Canada; but international amity seldom reaches the height of generosity.

Geographical ignorance on the part of those who framed the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 caused yet another difficulty. According to the treaty, the western boundary of British North America was to run from the Lake of the Woods due west to the Mississippi. But a line drawn due west from the Lake of the Woods does not touch the Mississippi, since this river has its source farther south. Fortunately this discrepancy was soon discovered; and in 1818 it was agreed that the boundary should be a line drawn from the Lake of the Woods along the forty-ninth parallel of latitude as far as the Rocky Mountains. But this arrangement left unsettled the question of the boundary from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast. The United States had proposed

*The
western
boundary*

that the boundary line of the forty-ninth parallel should be continued to the coast; but this would have robbed Great Britain of the Lower Columbia valley, which had been first explored by David Thompson, and had been occupied by the North West Company. For a number of years the difficulty was surmounted by the joint occupation by Great Britain and the United States of what came to be known as "the Oregon country"; but in 1843 there took place in this territory an influx of American settlers. These brought pressure on the American government to claim the whole of the Oregon country; and in 1844 the national convention of the Democratic party passed a resolution which was generally interpreted to mean that the United States should insist on her claim to the whole of the Pacific Slope up to $54^{\circ} 40'$ of north latitude, the southern boundary of the Russian possessions in Alaska. In the ensuing elections, the battle-cry of the Democratic party was "Fifty-four forty or fight". Happily, this proved to be nothing more than an election cry; and in 1846 the United States made with Great Britain a treaty—known as the Oregon Treaty—whereby the boundary was to follow the forty-ninth parallel of latitude as far as the middle of the channel separating Vancouver Island from the mainland, and thence southerly through the middle of the channel and the Straits of Juan de Fuca to the Pacific Ocean. By this treaty Great Britain resigned her claim to the valley of the Lower Columbia, but retained the whole of Vancouver Island. The exact line of the water boundary was left in some doubt; and for many years the ownership of the island of San Juan was the subject of dispute. But in 1871 the ownership of the island was referred to the arbitration of the German Emperor; and by him it was awarded to the United States.

Shortly after the formation of the Dominion of Canada, therefore, its southern boundary had been settled in all its details. But the last had not yet been heard of boundary disputes between Canada and the United States, for a third of a century later a difference of opinion arose with regard to the boundary between Alaska and British Columbia. Alaska had been acquired by the United States from Russia by purchase in 1867. The territory thus obtained included not only the Alaska peninsula, but also a fringe of coast-line ten marine leagues deep, extending south as far as Prince of Wales Island. When gold was discovered in the Canadian Klondike in 1898, the miners flocking into the gold-fields had, therefore, to pass through a narrow belt of American territory; and this naturally gave rise to difficulties. This brought the whole question of the Alaska boundary to the fore, and in 1903 it was referred to a joint commission which was to be composed of six "impartial jurists of repute". Unfortunately, President Roosevelt appointed as the representatives of the United States three commissioners who were in no sense impartial, since two of them had publicly expressed their opinions in regard to the matter in dispute. In the end, the British representative, Lord Alverstone, was compelled to defer to their views, since war seemed to be the only alternative; and the two Canadian commissioners were out-voted. The result was that the United States obtained, not only most of the territory it had claimed on the mainland, but also two small islands, the only value of which was that they commanded the entrance to the future terminus of a trans-Canadian railway. The award roused in Canada a furore of indignation, and was regarded as merely another and more heinous surrender

The Alaska boundary

of Canadian territory. It was unfortunate that the United States should have descended to playing the game of diplomacy in such a way, and that Lord Alverstone should have succumbed to what the Americans probably regarded as clever bargaining, for it is unthinkable that they would have gone to war over two small islands which were of no intrinsic value to them. But it is doubtful, on the other hand, if Canada could have obtained any better terms for herself by direct negotiation; and certainly, if we take the history of the boundary disputes between Canada and the United States as a whole, it cannot be successfully maintained that Canada would have fared better, or indeed as well, if she had not had the military and naval strength of Great Britain behind her.

*Fisheries
disputes*

Besides the boundaries of Canada, its fisheries have been a fertile cause of trouble with the United States. By the Treaty of Versailles, the people of the revolted colonies were given the right of fishing in British waters in North America, and even of landing on British coasts in order to dry their fish; but in 1818 a convention was signed whereby these rights were limited in some respects. It was agreed, for instance, that American fishermen should not fish nearer than three miles from shore. But this agreement proved difficult both of interpretation and of enforcement. On two occasions, in 1852 and in 1870, the British government was forced to send a small fleet to protect the Canadian and Newfoundland fisheries. This caused great annoyance among the Americans; and in 1871 the whole question was referred to the Joint High Commission which had been established to settle outstanding disputes between Great Britain and the United States. By the Treaty of Washington, which was the outcome of the work of the

commission, the United States obtained, not only the fishing rights granted by the Rush-Bagot convention of 1818, but rights to the inshore fisheries as well, on condition that compensation should be granted to Great Britain, the amount to be determined by arbitration. The United States made some difficulties about paying the large sum of five and a half million dollars set by the arbitrators before it was finally paid; and a number of years later, in 1885, the agreement of 1871 was terminated by Congress. A temporary arrangement was then made whereby American fishermen were given access to Canadian waters and harbours on payment of a license fee; and under this arrangement peace reigned for a number of years in the north Atlantic. On the Pacific coast, however, a dispute arose in 1889, when the Americans seized several Canadian sealing-vessels in the Bering Sea on the ground that they were in American waters. But in 1893 the matter was referred to arbitration; and the arbitrators reported in favour of the Canadian claims. Finally, in 1909, the whole question of the north Atlantic fisheries was referred to the Hague Tribunal; and in 1910 the Tribunal made an award which conceded in all essential points the claims which had been advanced by Great Britain and Canada for over a hundred years.

This award marked the beginning of a new era in the relations between Canada and the United States. Hitherto these relations had been kept at high tension by the constantly recurring disagreements over the boundary line, the fisheries, and other matters. But in 1910—the very year of the Hague award in regard to the fisheries—a treaty was signed whereby there was set up by Canada and the United States a permanent International Joint Commission, to which any dispute

*The International
Joint
Commission*

between the two countries might be referred at the discretion of the Canadian government and the United States senate. Little has been heard of the work of this commission; but its creation has successfully prevented any difference between the two countries becoming an issue, and it has brought about a spirit of international good-will and co-operation almost without a parallel in any other part of the world.

The fullest and most recent discussion of relations between Canada and the United States is H. L. Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States* (New York, 1929). A briefer account will be found in G. M. Wrong, *The United States and Canada* (New York, 1921) and Sir R. Falconer, *The United States as a Neighbour* (Oxford, 1925).

§ 2. THE WARS OF THE EMPIRE

*Canadians
in the
British
army and
navy*

EXCEPT in regard to the United States, the foreign affairs of Canada have until recent years been confined to an occasional participation in the wars of the British Empire. From an early date, Canadians both of English and French origin enlisted, or obtained commissions, in the British army and navy. Colonel de Salaberry, the hero of the battle of Châteauguay, served as an officer in the British army during the greater part of the Napoleonic Wars; and one of the few Victoria Crosses granted during the Crimean War was won by Lieutenant Alexander Dunn, the son of a former receiver-general of Upper Canada, in the famous "Charge of the Light Brigade" at Balaklava. In 1858 a British regiment, the 100th Prince of Wales's Royal Canadian Regiment, was raised in Canada; and this unit, which is now known as the Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment, has played its part in British wars from that day to this. But apart from such Canadian enlistments in the British army,

Canada (except in the war of 1812) took no part in the wars of the Empire until long after the creation of the Dominion.

The first purely Canadian venture into wars abroad took place in 1884, when Lord Wolseley, who was in command of the expedition for the relief of General Gordon at Khartum, asked for a picked force of Canadian *voyageurs* to assist in the navigation of the dangerous waters of the Nile. A force of nearly four hundred men—such as had guided Wolseley's Red River expedition to the West in 1869—was dispatched to Egypt under the command of Colonel F. C. Denison, and rendered yeoman service throughout the campaign. *The Nile expedition*

The next occasion on which Canada sent soldiers to participate in the wars of the Empire was the South African war. When the Dutch republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State threw down in 1899 the gage of battle at Great Britain's feet, the strong wave of Imperialist feeling which at that time swept over Canada forced the Laurier government to offer to the British War Office two successive contingents of troops, including infantry, mounted rifles, and artillerymen, to the number of 2,500. In addition to these contingents, Lord Strathcona raised and outfitted in Canada a regiment of mounted rifles, known as Strathcona's Horse, numbering over 500 men. The Canadian contingents in the South African war were, therefore, over 3,000 strong. These troops, composed for the most part of excellent horsemen, played a creditable part in the war; and at the battle of Paardeberg, which was the turning point of the struggle, they distinguished themselves by taking a leading part in the capture of the *commando* of the Boer general, Cronje. In the relief of *The South African War*

Mafeking—an event which caused a riot of jubilation in Canada—Canadian gunners played also a noteworthy role. But the Canadian government had assumed no responsibility for these troops, when once they were landed in Cape Town; and they were in South Africa virtually British troops paid by the British War Office.

*The World
War*

Not until the outbreak of the World War in 1914 did Canada reveal the extent of her loyalty to the mother country, or of the loyal effort which she was capable of making. With the origin of this war—the greatest of all times—Canada had no direct concern. The war was caused, in the last analysis, by the system whereby the great powers of Europe were ranged in rival camps under what was known as “the balance of power”; and the match that set the powder magazine alight was the assassination of the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary and his wife, in the little town of Sarajevo in Bosnia on June 28, 1914. This dastardly deed was attributed by the Austrian government to the machinations of the government of Serbia, which had been angered by the annexation of Bosnia by Austria in 1908; and Austria consequently demanded satisfaction from Serbia, in an ultimatum which imposed conditions so stiff and humiliating that Serbia could not accept them all. Austria then declared war on Serbia. But this declaration of war brought into the arena the Russian Empire, which had always regarded itself as the protector of Serbia and the other Slavonic states in the Balkans. Austria, on the other hand, had the backing of the German Empire; and Germany served notice on Russia that, if Austria was attacked, Germany would come to her defence. Russia, however, had long had a defensive alliance with France; and if Germany attacked Russia,

then it was certain that France would come to her support. Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign minister, did his best to bring about a conference of the Great Powers, with a view to reaching a settlement of the trouble by peaceful rather than by warlike means; but he was unsuccessful. The avalanche had started and could not be stopped. Austria declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914. On July 29 Russia mobilized against Austria; and on August 1 Germany declared war on Russia and France. In order to launch her armies against France, she invaded Belgium, the neutrality of which had been guaranteed by Great Britain. Great Britain had a friendly understanding with France, and she might in any case have been forced, in self-defence, to come to France's aid; but after the neutrality of Belgium was violated, she had no choice. On August 4 the British Empire entered the World War, "for a scrap of paper", as the German chancellor contemptuously put it; but that "scrap of paper" was one to which Great Britain had affixed her sign and seal. Neither Great Britain nor any of her dominions desired the World War, nor had they anything to gain by it; but they could not in honour avoid it.

The Germans, who believed that the British Empire was breaking up, confidently expected that Canada and the other overseas dominions would take no active part in the struggle. Their expectations were rudely disappointed. No sooner had war been declared than the Borden government, with the full approval of the Liberal opposition, cabled to England offering the services of Canadian troops. The offer was gratefully accepted; and immediately orders were issued for the mobilization of a division of approximately 20,000 men. Actually

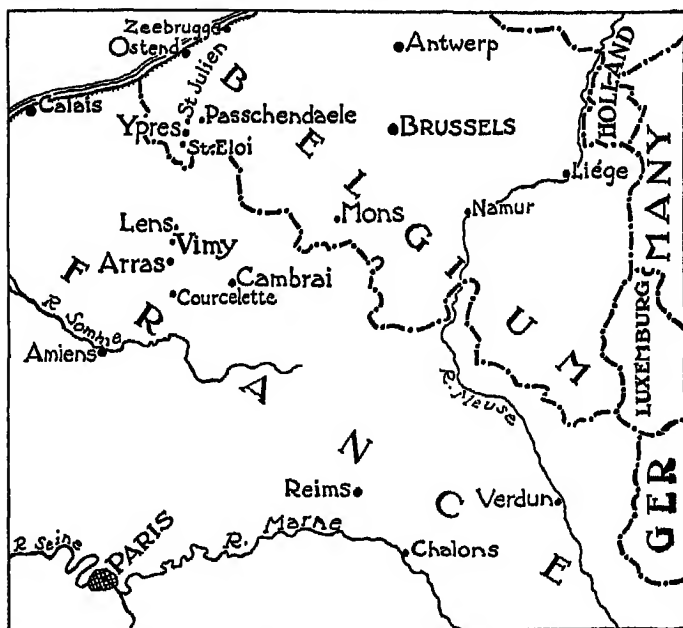
*Canada's
part in the
World War*

over 33,000 eager volunteers gathered at Valcartier near Quebec; and within eight weeks of the declaration of war, this first contingent of Canadian troops was on its way to England—the largest body of troops which had ever, up to that time, crossed the Atlantic at once. Before the war was over, nearly 600,000 Canadians had donned khaki; and of these nearly three-fourths had proceeded overseas on active service. In addition to these many Canadians enlisted in the British army and navy, and especially in the air force, which was recruited to a surprising degree from Canadians. On what was known as “the home front”, Canada came to play an important part in the manufacture of munitions of war and in the growing of food-stuffs for the Allied armies. Canada, in short, threw herself into the struggle without reserve; and while her contribution to the war effort of the British Empire seemed small in comparison with that of the mother country, for a country of her means and population it was magnificent.

*The
Canadians
in France*

To trace here the course of the war, which lasted for four and a half years, and was fought out on all the seven seas and on a dozen fronts in Europe, Asia, and Africa, would be out of place. All that can be done is to describe briefly the course of events on the western front, where the Canadian forces were engaged. When the First Canadian Division reached France in February, 1915, the struggle on the western front had already passed through its first phase. The Germans had swept through Belgium and Luxemburg into northern France, had driven before them the French and British armies, and had been turned back, in the Battle of the Marne, at the very gates of Paris. They had then “dug themselves in” along a line extending from the Belgian sea-coast to

the borders of Switzerland; and the war had degenerated from a war of movement into a struggle in which each side faced the other in long lines of entrenchments. A deadlock had taken place which was destined to last until 1918. But the Germans were still hopeful in 1915 that the deadlock could be broken. They conceived the



PART OF THE WESTERN FRONT, WHERE THE CANADIANS WERE ENGAGED IN THE GREAT WAR

plan of launching a grand attack on the left of the Allied line, opposite Ypres in Belgium, with the object of seizing the channel ports, cutting off British reinforcements, and rolling up the Allied armies to the south-eastward. On April 22 they released against the Canadians and the French colonial troops, who were manning

the Ypres sector, long yellow clouds of poison gas—a weapon that no civilized people had hitherto employed in warfare. The French Turcos and Zouaves broke and fled, leaving the Canadian left wing in the air; but the Canadians closed the gap, and with dauntless doggedness held the breach for three days until reinforcements arrived. "Their gallantry and determination", said the official communiqué of the British War Office, "un-



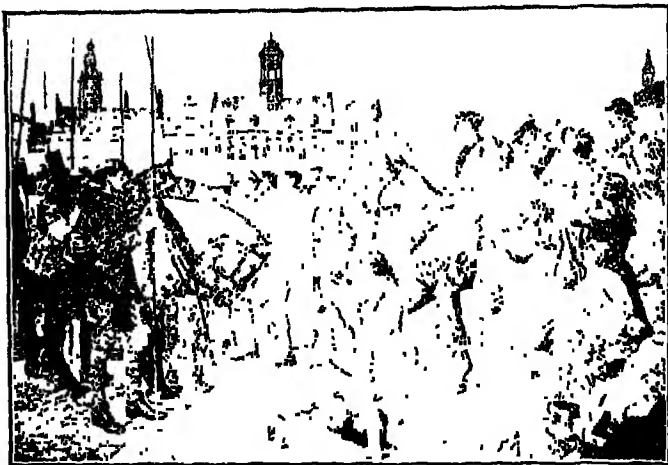
THE CANADIANS AT YPRES
From a painting by Richard Jack, R.A.

doubtedly saved the situation." When they came out of the trenches, there was little left of them. Some battalions could scarcely muster a hundred men. But after the second battle of Ypres, as the struggle was named, the Canadians were recognized as among the best troops on the western front. "It means more to be a Canadian to-day", it was said, "than it did before the second battle of Ypres."

The reputation which the Canadians thus won at the outset they sustained until the end. In time other divisions were added to the first, and the Canadian Corps came into existence. At first this army corps was commanded by a British general officer, Sir Julian (afterwards Lord) Byng; but eventually it came to be commanded by a Canadian business man, Sir Arthur Currie, and under him it won its greatest successes. It was engaged in most of the great battles which took place on the western front during the later stages of the war; and wherever it was engaged, it struck a decisive blow. It was the Canadians who made many of the most successful attacks in the protracted Battle of the Somme in 1916; it was they who stormed Vimy Ridge in the spring of 1917; it was they who captured the last ridge at Passchendaele in the third battle of Ypres in the autumn of 1917; and it was they who constituted the "spearhead" of the British attack in northern France during those "hundred days" when the Germans were battered back to the Belgian frontier. This last achievement perhaps surpassed all the others. It meant the storming of the famous Hindenburg line, which was the last word in military engineering, with its vast system of trenches and tunnels; but these formidable defences were taken by the Canadians almost in their stride. "They carried all before them," said the British commander-in-chief. Finally, on November 11, just before the armistice was signed, they entered the town of Mons in Belgium, where the British had first met the German onslaught in 1914. The wheel had come full circle. British troops were back where they had been four and a half years before; and the Canadians had demonstrated the ability of the British peoples to "come back". After the armistice

*The later
stages of the
war*

the Canadians were among those chosen to cross the Rhine and occupy German territory; and the German people had the unwonted experience of hearing from the



THE CANADIANS AT MONS
From a painting by I. Sheldon-Williams

Canadian regimental bands the strains of *The Maple Leaf* and *O Canada*.

An account of Canada's part in the Great War is to be found in Capt. H. Steele, *The Canadians in France* (London, 1920) and in Sir C. Lucas (ed.), *The Empire at War*, Vol. 2 (London, 1923).

§ 3. CANADA AMONG THE NATIONS

Canada's
voice in
peace and
war

THE role which Canada played in the Great War, and the exploits of the Canadian forces on the battlefields of France had far-reaching effects. Canada had enjoyed no voice in determining the issues out of which the war arose; but she had come so whole-heartedly to the aid of the mother country that it was difficult to deny her

the right to a voice in the issues of peace and war in the future. At the Imperial War Conference of 1917, when the future constitutional arrangements of the British Empire were under discussion, a resolution was passed, on the motion of Sir Robert Borden, the prime minister of Canada, that "any readjustment of relations . . . must be based on the complete recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and must fully recognize their right to a voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations". When the war ended, and the representatives of all the countries which had taken part in it gathered at a peace conference at Paris, Canada was represented by Sir Robert Borden and some of his colleagues in the Canadian government, as members of the British Empire delegation; and when a treaty of peace was signed at Versailles near Paris, in June, 1919, two of the Canadian delegates, Sir George Foster and the Hon. C. J. Doherty, signed the treaty on behalf of Canada, just as delegates from the other Dominions signed the treaty. Canada thus obtained, with her sister Dominions, the recognition of her national status, not only from the mother country, but from the other nations of the world as well.

The Treaty of Versailles, which brought the Great War to a close, was not in all respects a model of wisdom. Acting on the ancient principle, "Woe to the vanquished", those who framed it not only took from Germany and her allies much of their former territory, but they also imposed on Germany financial burdens in the form of indemnities greater than that country could pay. These indemnities had later to be modified; and they proved to be an unsettling and disturbing factor in the post-war politics of Europe. But one great and wise

*The Treaty
of
Versailles*

feature the treaty had. It created the League of Nations—a League which was intended to make the recurrence of a world war, or indeed of any war, forever impossible. Under the inspiration of Woodrow Wilson, a great idealist who happened at that time to be president of the United States, the peacemakers at Paris wrote into the treaty provisions for an international organization which should make the peace of 1919 permanent. In the beautiful city of Geneva in Switzerland, which was chosen as the headquarters of the League of Nations, there was to meet annually an Assembly of representatives from all countries which should become members of the League; and in this Assembly, Canada, with the other British Dominions, was given a seat. The actual business of the League was to be conducted by a Council composed of representatives of the five great powers and a number of elected representatives from other countries; and to this Council Canada and the other British Dominions were, as a result of Sir Robert Borden's insistence, declared eligible of election. In 1926, Senator Dandurand, one of Canada's representatives, who had the previous year been elected as president of the Assembly of the League, was actually chosen to represent Canada on the Council of the League; and thus Canada has taken her place in recent years beside the great powers of Europe in the council house of the nations.

*The League
of Nations*

Since its foundation in 1920, the League of Nations has not perhaps achieved all that its founders hoped for it. From the beginning, the United States, repudiating the ideals of Woodrow Wilson, has stood aloof from it; and Soviet Russia has also refrained from lending its support to the League. Only in 1926, moreover, was Germany admitted to membership. But there are now more than

fifty of the nations of the world that belong to the League and contribute to its support; and it has already proved in many ways its usefulness. It has been instrumental in setting up, at the Hague in Holland, a Court of International Justice to which disputes over international law may be referred; and it has itself several times succeeded in adjusting peacefully difficulties which might easily have led to war. It has done splendid service in helping to effect the rehabilitation of states, such as Austria, almost hopelessly crippled by the war; and it has exerted a decided influence in bringing about in all countries such reforms as the reduction in armaments, the amelioration of labour conditions, and the suppression of the trade in narcotic drugs. It is not too much to say that, in various ways, it has helped to make the world a better place in which to live. In its work Canada has taken from the first a conspicuous part. The first financial director of the League was a Canadian, Sir Herbert Ames; and to him the League owed in its early days a debt of gratitude for the financial genius which enabled it, with slender resources, to carry on its work. On more than one occasion the League would have been unable to pay its employees had it not been for the skill of the financial director. Other Canadians have joined the permanent staff, or secretariat, of the League; and since 1924 Canada has had her own advisory officer at Geneva. Because of the failure of the United States to join the League, Canada has become there the interpreter of North American opinion; and, consequently, her representatives have exerted on the work of the League an exceptional influence.

Canada's new international status, as evidenced in the League of Nations, has entailed a parallel change in *Canada and the mother country*

her relations with the mother country. We have travelled a long way from the day when Lord Durham expressed the opinion that foreign affairs were one of those "strictly imperial interests" outside the sphere of responsible government. It was not, in fact, until after the Confederation of 1867 that the right of Canada even to be consulted in foreign policy came to be recognized. In the negotiation of the Treaty of Washington in 1871, Sir John Macdonald, then prime minister of Canada, was chosen as one of the four British commissioners; but he found it difficult to carry his colleagues with him in his championship of Canadian interests. A few years later, in 1879, the Macdonald government appointed Sir Alexander Galt as Canadian high commissioner at London; and this appointment not only gave Canada a representative of a semi-consular nature at the heart of the Empire, but it brought her into touch with other countries as well. The Canadian high commissioner came to be employed at first in an advisory capacity, and then as a direct diplomatic representative, in the negotiation of treaties affecting Canada; and thus, through him, the right of Canada to be consulted in regard to treaties affecting her interests came to be recognized. During the Laurier régime, the mother country agreed to the principle that no imperial treaty should be made binding on Canada unless with Canada's express consent; and she won the right of negotiating direct with foreign countries in respect to commercial matters. In 1897, for example, Canada engaged in a tariff war with the German Empire, and in this Germany came off second best. In these developments the character and ability of the Canadian high commissioners in London was an important factor. On Sir Alexander

Galt's retirement in 1882, Sir Charles Tupper was appointed to represent Canada in London; and when Tupper returned to this country to become prime minister in 1896, Lord Strathcona took his place. Strathcona retained the high commissionership until his death in 1914, a period of eighteen years, during which he was a tower of strength to Canada; and he was succeeded by Sir George Perley, and later by the Honourable Peter Larkin. Few Canadians realize how fortunate Canada has been in having in the capital of the Empire a series of such able and distinguished representatives as these.

Another means by which Canada's interests have been consulted by the mother country has been the Colonial or Imperial Conferences. The first of these, held in London on the occasion of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in 1887, was largely a formal gathering of dignitaries from the various parts of the Empire; but later conferences have dealt with a great variety of matters of concern to the Empire as a whole. At the Imperial Conference of 1907, it was agreed that a conference should in the future be held every four years; and while it has not been possible to adhere to this programme rigorously, no fewer than five conferences have been held since that time. During the Great War, the Imperial Conference of 1917 set up an Imperial War Cabinet—a sort of "cabinet of governments", to use Sir Robert Borden's words—in which either Dominion prime ministers or their nominees sat while in London; and it was hoped at one time that this "Imperial Cabinet" would provide a solution for the problem of the government of the British Empire. But it proved difficult, if not impossible, for the prime ministers and other important cabinet ministers of the overseas Dominions

*The
"Imperial
Conference"*

to absent themselves from their own countries for a considerable time each year; and the conclusion of peace saw the end of the experiment. Since the war the Imperial Conferences have been purely for consultation; and there has been little evidence of the desire, which was quite evident at some earlier periods, to set up machinery for the central government of the Empire. In 1926, indeed, the conference laid down the principle that Great Britain and the Dominions are "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic and external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". This principle, though embodied in a unanimous resolution of the conference, has not as yet perhaps the force of law; but as a description of the unwritten constitution of the British Empire to-day it is no doubt fairly accurate.

*External
affairs*

In 1912 the Canadian parliament set up a department of external affairs in the Canadian government, under the special charge of the prime minister; and this department has steadily grown in importance. It has oversight of all matters which relate to the League of Nations and to Canada's foreign affairs generally; and under it has been created the beginnings of a Canadian diplomatic service. In 1926 Canada set up in Washington a legation of her own, in charge of the Honourable Vincent Massey, to look after Canadian interests in the United States; in 1927 she appointed the Honourable Philippe Roy, who had been for many years the Canadian agent-general in France, the minister in charge of the Canadian legation in Paris; and in 1929 she appointed the Honourable Herbert Marler minister to Japan.

What these changes portend, only the future will reveal. There are those who believe that we are witnessing the peaceful break-up of the British Empire, and that Canada has now virtually asserted her independence, "in the light of, or under the shadow of, the Empire". But there are also those who believe that the British Empire will be stronger and more united when bound together by the silken threads of sentiment rather than by rigid links of law. One thing is certain, that the Crown of Great Britain is still the Crown of Canada; and even when negotiating separately with foreign countries, the Canadian government still speaks in the name of King George VI.

*The future
of the
Empire*

A fuller account of such recent matters as are dealt with in this section is best found in the volumes of the *Canadian Annual Review* (1901—).

PART IV: THE MARCH OF PROGRESS

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways.

—ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON, *Morte d'Arthur*

The state comes into existence, originating in the bare needs of life, and continuing in existence for the sake of a good life.

—ARISTOTLE, *Politics*

§ 1. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

HIGH were the hopes with which Canadians embarked on the experiment of Confederation. Glowing prophecies were made of the prosperity that would follow in the train of union, and of the increase in population which Canada would have by the end of the century. These prophecies proved empty. It is true that for a few years following Confederation a wave of

*The first
years of the
Dominion*

prosperity swept over the country, due partly to the building up of British and inter-provincial trade after the partial loss of United States markets which followed the abrogation in 1866 of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. But in 1873 the bubble burst. In common with the United States, Great Britain, and the countries of continental Europe, Canada entered then upon a period of severe depression; and this lasted during the whole of the Mackenzie régime. The adoption of the National Policy by the Macdonald government in 1879 did something perhaps to alleviate the situation; but it did not perform the miracles expected of it, and for the rest of the nineteenth century Canada remained, from an economic point of view, in a state of depression. Even in point of population her advance was disappointing. There were in the new Dominion of Canada in 1867 about three and a half million people; but a third of a century later, despite the addition of new provinces and territories and the influx of a steady immigration, the census showed a population of barely five and a half millions—an increase hardly greater than might have been expected from the excess of births over deaths.

*Causes of
slow growth*

The causes of the slow growth of the Dominion during the last third of the nineteenth century were several. Perhaps the most important was the condition of the world's markets for trade. Canada was essentially an agricultural country; and during this period the prices of agricultural products sank steadily, so that farming became a business which yielded little or no profit. Wholesale prices in general fell, in fact, between 1867 and 1900, by about a third; and a famous picture of that period by George A. Reid, a Canadian artist, represented the "Foreclosure of the Mortgage" on a Canadian farm.

Another cause was the delay in completing Canada's transportation system. It was not until 1876 that the Intercolonial Railway linking Quebec and Montreal with the Maritime provinces, was ready for operation; and it was not until 1885 that the last spike was driven in the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was to open up for settlement the Great West. In that year, moreover, there occurred, as we have seen, a serious rebellion of the half-breeds and Indians in the Saskatchewan country; and this had the unfortunate effect of discouraging for many years the immigrants who might otherwise have flocked into the West over the new railway. Newcomers were chary of settling in a country where, according to popular and malicious report, they were liable either to be scalped by the Indians or frozen to death in the winter. It was, consequently, possible for a Canadian statesman to describe the West in 1890 as "still empty".

In contrast with this, a third cause was the lure of the United States. This country—with a vast western territory still partly unoccupied, but easily accessible by railway, and blessed with other advantages—was at this time the Mecca of immigrants; and Canada could not compete with it. Not only was the tide of immigration that flowed annually into the United States, even from the British Isles, many times that of the trickle which came into Canada; but many of those who came, and many also of those who were born in Canada, tended to cross the boundary-line to seek their fortunes in the neighbouring republic. During this period, the emigration from Canada to the United States was little less than the emigration to Canada from Europe.

The nineteenth century, though a period of slow growth in Canada, was nevertheless one of foundation

*Foundation
building*

building. Canada was then as she is to-day, a country of vast natural resources. These had not yet been developed, or indeed in many cases discovered. But much was done to render their discovery and development possible. The building of railway connections from Halifax to Vancouver, though not immediately productive of all the results expected of it, laid the basis of future growth. Toward the end of the century the electric railway came into existence; and a little later the first "horseless buggies" appeared on the streets. Not only did methods of transportation improve, but also methods of communication. The telephone, invented by Alexander Graham Bell, and first put into operation in Ontario in 1876, came into use at an early date all over Canada long before it gained a vogue in the countries of the Old World, and it revolutionized business and social life. In the same way, the application of machinery to agriculture and to industry revolutionized methods of production. Mechanical reapers, binders, and threshing-machines were introduced, which were marvels of human invention, and which performed the work that many men had done formerly. Where boots and shoes had once been made by hand, they came now to be made by machinery; factories sprang up for the manufacture of furniture which had been once made by joiners and cabinet-makers; newspapers installed new and elaborate presses which cast into the shade the hand-presses of an earlier day. The widespread introduction of machinery paved the way for the era of mass production which was to characterize Canadian economic life in the twentieth century.

*Industrial
growth*

During the later years of the nineteenth century, moreover, new industries gained a foothold in Canada.

Notable among these were the cheese factories, which by 1880 were shipping forty million pounds of cheese a year to Great Britain; the pork-packing establishments, which slaughtered in the factory instead of on the farm; and the salmon-canning industry in British Columbia. Other industries, it is true, declined, such as the ship-building industry of Quebec and the Maritime provinces, which was hard hit by the substitution of iron and steel for wood in ships. But, on the whole, Canadian industry made, during the third of a century after Confederation, a steady, if unspectacular, advance. In particular, it learned the lesson of organization and combination. Faced with the severe competition of "hard times", business men began to form associations, "pools", or combines, to regulate prices. Thus in 1887 the oatmeal millers of Ontario formed the Oatmeal Millers' Association, which agreed on a uniform buying price for oats, closed up ten mills, and allotted to each of the rest a fixed share of the output which it was thought the market could absorb. About the same time the manufacturers of coffins formed the Dominion Burial Case Association, and made an arrangement with the Undertakers' Association of Ontario, whereby the latter agreed to buy coffins and funeral supplies only from the former. Agreements were even entered into by Canadian associations with similar bodies in the United States, in an endeavour to regulate prices for the whole continent and to eliminate price-cutting competition. These combinations, even at that date, roused public opinion against them on the ground that they were in restraint of trade; but they did much to create the atmosphere in which the "big business" of the twentieth century was to flourish.

The prosperity of the twentieth century

On the foundations which were laid in the lean years from Confederation to the turn of the century, has been built the amazing prosperity with which, except for brief interludes, Canada has been blessed since that time. The sudden change of fortune almost defies explanation. It took place shortly after the advent to power in 1896 of the Laurier government; and there have been writers who have attributed the change to the policies of this government. There can be no doubt that the policies of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's first cabinet—one of the strongest Canada has ever had—helped greatly to bring prosperity; but there were factors that lay deeper than politics. Perhaps the chief underlying factor was the fact that, by the end of the nineteenth century, the United States had few more vacant lands to offer settlers, and had become so wealthy that it no longer looked abroad for foreign capital to develop its resources. What Canada had lacked above all was population and capital; and these, finding no longer an outlet in the United States, turned at last to the northern half of the continent. That they did so, however, was due to a series of circumstances which brought Canada as never before into the limelight. In 1897, the visit of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the French-Canadian prime minister of Canada, to the capital of the Empire on the occasion of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee, combined with his offer of an "imperial preference" on British goods, gave Canada an advertisement in Great Britain such as she had never previously had. Sir John Macdonald, for all his picturesque qualities, never received in England the acclaim which fell to Laurier's lot. The following year the discovery of gold in the Klondike, and the consequent rush of gold-seekers to that region, while it added little

to Canada's tangible wealth, made her the cynosure of all eyes; and shortly afterwards the exploits of her sons on the South African veldt attracted to her still further attention. This publicity was no unimportant factor in bringing about the flow of immigration and capital which inaugurated the new wave of prosperity.

At the same time, it must be admitted that the govern-
Immigra-
tion
ment did not let the grass grow beneath its feet. The ministry of the Interior, which had oversight of immigration, Laurier confided in 1897 to Clifford (later Sir Clifford) Sifton. Sifton adopted an aggressive immigration policy, and established immigration offices, not only in Great Britain, but also in the United States and in many countries of continental Europe. Some of his immigration agents in the United States asked in despair to be allowed to resign. "The people", said one of them, "do not know where Canada is." But gradually the tide of immigration began to flow. From a trickle it became a stream, and from a stream a torrent. From an annual influx of about 30,000 immigrants before 1900, immigration into Canada reached in the years before the Great War an annual figure amounting to hundreds of thousands; and between 1896 and 1914 there came into Canada more than two and a half million people. Not all these immigrants were of an equally desirable type. Among them were large numbers of people whose standards of living were inferior to those of native-born Canadians; and especially unhappy was the importation of the Doukhobors—a group of Russians whose ideals were scarcely compatible with Canadian citizenship. But there were also among the immigrants ever increasing numbers of settlers of the best type—Americans from the Middle West of the United States, who thoroughly understood the conditions they had to face;

settlers from the British Isles, who found a little difficulty in adjusting themselves to the new conditions, but who were of sound stock with sound ideals; and Scandinavians, people of a stock akin to the Anglo-Saxon, who were destined to prove the most desirable of the non-English-speaking newcomers. Even immigrants of a less adaptable type furnished Canada, in the period of expansion which was now impending, with the cheap unskilled labour of which she was in need.

*The growth
of the West*

Most of these immigrants flocked into the Canadian West. Manitoba and parts of the North-West Territories had already been sparsely settled by farmers from eastern Canada and by earlier immigrants from the British Isles; but the West now embarked on a period of rapid expansion paralleled only by that which had taken place in the American West a generation earlier. New towns sprang up on the prairies almost overnight. Towns already in existence doubled and trebled in size in a single year. Winnipeg, which had a population of 218 in 1870, was credited with a population of over 175,000 in the census of 1911. Vancouver, which had not been in existence in 1885, had grown by 1911 to a city of over 100,000. Edmonton, the capital of the new province of Alberta, increased in population by 900 per cent. in ten years; and in seven years Saskatoon, in the province of Saskatchewan, grew from a tiny village of 113 people to a town of over 16,000. Most of the immigrants, however, went on the soil; and the fertile lands of the prairie country filled up rapidly with homesteaders. Many of these western farmers went in for mixed farming, especially in Alberta, which had been at first largely a grazing country; but the chief product of the West was wheat, and the production of this reached heights

undreamed of. People who had been laughed at as visionaries for prophesying that the Canadian West would export 20,000,000 bushels of wheat, lived to see it export ten times this amount.

This bewildering growth of the West had far-reaching results. It meant, in the first place, an increase in the annual income of Canada of many tens of millions of dollars derived from the sale of wheat and other exports; and it provided, in the second place, the manufacturers of eastern Canada with a market such as they had never before enjoyed. But it also entailed a rapid—indeed, a too rapid—extension of railway facilities. The Canadian Pacific Railway, with its single line to the West, proved incapable of meeting the demands made upon it. Two Canadian railway contractors, Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann, with a daring that commands admiration, began to build up a second transcontinental railway system, the Canadian Northern Railway, by buying up charters for a network of smaller railways and by obtaining subsidies and guarantees from provincial governments; and in 1903 the Grand Trunk Railway obtained from the Dominion parliament aid in building a third transcontinental line—the Grand Trunk Pacific. In the building of these railways both British and American capital played an important part; and the prosperity of Canada at this time owed not a little to the stream of capital which flowed into the country both for railway-building and for other purposes. Hitherto Canada had attracted comparatively little capital; and English funds had found investment, so far as America was concerned, in the United States or the South American republics. Now the United States was more than able to finance itself; and the experience

*The results
of the
western
growth*

of British investors in South American projects had not been happy. The result was that Canada for the first time found British, and even American, capital easy to obtain; and the influx of immigrants was paralleled by the influx of money.

*Expansion
elsewhere*

It was not, however, only in the West that expansion took place. Both in northern Ontario and northern Quebec, new areas, the possibilities of which had hitherto been unknown, were opened up for exploitation. A new belt of agricultural land was discovered north of the height of land in the Hudson Bay watershed. The spruce and jackpine of the north country became suddenly valuable, owing to the depletion of the forests of the United States and the urgent demand for pulpwood in the manufacture of paper. Just after the turn of the century, moreover, silver and cobalt were discovered on the shores of Lake Timiskaming in northern Ontario; and a few years later gold was discovered in an adjacent district. This proved to be the beginning of a series of discoveries which has made northern Ontario one of the great mining districts of the world, and which has brought to Canada a vast increase of annual income derived from the bowels of the earth. By a happy coincidence, there had taken place, in the last years of the nineteenth century, the discovery of the means whereby water-power may be used to produce electrical heat, light, and energy; and this not only made possible the creation of the publicly-owned Ontario Hydro-Electric Power System—the greatest power-producing business in the world to-day—as well as many private hydro-electric power plants throughout Canada, but it contributed greatly to the development both of the new pulp-and-paper and mining industries in Canada.

It almost seemed as though, in the first decade of the twentieth century, fortune had conspired to shower on Canada every blessing that science and nature could afford.

The first decade of the twentieth century was a "boom" period such as Canada had never yet known. But prosperity has an unhappy faculty of bringing about reactions. It causes over-speculation; and this causes, sooner or later, a collapse. Such a collapse occurred in Canada in 1913, due wholly to the extravagant hopes which had been roused by the progress of the country in the preceding years. Then, in 1914, the Great War broke out. This brought about in Canada, as in other countries, a severe dislocation of business. International trade went to pieces. But as the war went on, Canada found in the demand for its foodstuffs and in the supply of vast quantities of munitions of war, a new source of prosperity. Her food exports were in 1918 more than four times as great as they had been in 1914; and Canadian munition plants turned out during the struggle over seventy-five million shells of all sizes. The war, therefore, rescued Canada from the depression of 1913-14, and gave a new, if temporary, impetus to Canadian industry and trade.

The close of the war, however, brought about the period of reconstruction. Another severe dislocation occurred in Canadian trade; and in addition, Canada had to absorb into her industrial life the hundreds of thousands of soldiers and war-workers who had been for four years removed from it. The cost of the war had imposed on the Dominion government, and in a less degree on the provincial governments, a vast burden of public debt, the very interest on which amounted to a

staggering sum. The Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Railways, moreover, had become bankrupt during the war; and these had to be taken over by the Canadian government and absorbed in the Canadian National Railways system. These railways had a heavy annual deficit, and this added still further to the financial burdens of the Canadian people. Taxation rose to a point where it was burdensome to individuals, and handicapped development. Meanwhile, prices soared to unprecedented heights; and the country went through a difficult period of readjustment.

*Canada's
future*

Fortunately, Canada is a country endowed with great natural wealth, and this has enabled her to make a more rapid recovery than almost any other country involved in the Great War, except the United States. Canadian farms have continued to produce foodstuffs in ever-increasing quantities; Canadian mines have doubled and trebled their output of gold and silver and nickel; the American demand for Canadian pulp and paper has grown steadily in volume; of the great basic industries of the country, only the fisheries have remained stationary. Manufacturing, stimulated by the widespread development of water-powers and by the elimination of costly competition through the formation of mergers, has more than recovered from the dislocation of the war, and its production has of recent years increased, especially in the western provinces. The Canadian National Railways, by means of efficient management and greater traffic, have gradually overcome the operating deficits of earlier years. Immigration has never approached in volume the influx of pre-war years; but what it has lost in quantity, it has perhaps gained in quality. It is estimated that, despite a partial revival of the exodus to

the United States, the population of Canada has mounted year by year; and it will not be surprising if, in the census of 1931, Canada is found to have at least a population of over ten millions. As yet the arable land under cultivation is only a fraction of that available for cultivation, and the mineral wealth of the country has probably hardly been scratched. Canada stands, to use Oliver Cromwell's phrase, "at the edge of the promises and prophecies".

See H. Henton, *History of Trade and Commerce, with special reference to Canada*, Chap. 9 (Toronto, 1928)

§ 2. SOCIAL CHANGES

At no period of Canadian history have there been so many and such vast social changes as in the years since Confederation. Life in Canada to-day is so different from what it was in 1867 that, if a Canadian who died at that time were to return to the earth and revisit the scenes of his former existence, the sensations of Rip Van Winkle would be mild in comparison with his. He would recognize the general features of the geography of the country; he would see an occasional landmark which had survived from Confederation days; and he would be able to understand, with occasional difficulties, the speech of the inhabitants. But nearly everything else would be strange to him.

A good illustration of the character of the changes which have taken place is to be found in the methods of travel and transportation. There were steam railways in Canada in 1867, but these were diminutive in comparison with those of to-day, and they were local in their scope. There were as yet no railways linking central Canada either with the West or with the Maritime

provinces. Electric railways and bicycles did not make their appearance until the eighties; and motor cars, driven by gasoline engines, did not appear on the streets until about 1900. Since that time the motor car has largely superseded horse-drawn vehicles as a means of transport; and all over the country new concrete or asphalt highways have been constructed, infinitely superior to the rough roads of an earlier day and largely designed to facilitate motor traffic. There is now in Canada one motor vehicle to every ten persons; and this fact has meant an extraordinary speeding up of life, as well as an ending of the old isolation of rural districts. Shortly before the Great War the aeroplane emerged from the experimental stage; and it is being used to-day for rapid transportation, especially of mail and passengers. Many cities are establishing air-ports; and the time may not be far distant when a regular air service may be maintained between the chief centres of population. On the water the paddle-wheeled steamer has given place to the screw steamer propelled by turbine engines; and a great deal has been done to improve Canadian harbours and waterways. The latest proposal is the canalization of the St. Lawrence, in such a way as to throw open to ocean-going vessels the whole of the Great Lakes system.

*Com-
munications*

A similar revolution has taken place in communications. The postoffice and telegraphy were well-established features of Canadian life in 1867; but neither had been fully developed. It was not until after Confederation that letters were delivered by postmen in urban centres; and it was not until 1908 that rural mail delivery was organized. Letters, moreover, were in 1867 written by hand; now most business correspondence is done on the

typewriter, which has come into use since that time. Telegraphic connection by cable between British North America and the British Isles was established in 1857, but that between Canada and Australia only in 1902. The first wireless telegraph station in Canada dates only from 1903. The telephone, now such a necessary adjunct in social and business life, was invented by Alexander Graham Bell only in 1876. The radio, or wireless telephony, did not come into being as a commercial proposition until 1921. Photography, which was in its infancy in 1867, has produced the cinematograph or moving-picture; and in 1928 there took place the first successful experiment in television—the transmission between London and New York of the faces of four persons.

Even in domestic life great changes have taken place. *Domestic*
life The log-house of the pioneer has nearly everywhere disappeared, and has been replaced by houses of brick, stone, or cement. Bathrooms with hot and cold running water and stationary baths are almost wholly developments of the period following Confederation. Since the beginning of the present century, the development of hydro-electric power has brought about the widespread introduction in the homes of the people of electric lighting, heaters, cooking-stoves, toasters, refrigerators, washing-machines, irons, sewing-machines, vacuum-cleaners, and even curling-tongs. Automatic oil furnaces are another recent feature of domestic economy. Domestic architecture has greatly improved both in regard to taste and convenience; and interior decoration has become in recent years a professional art. Most important in its influence on social life has been the growth, especially in the larger cities, of vast apartment houses; almost the only

apartment houses in Canada in 1867 were the jails and the asylums.

*Food and
clothing*

Changes in food and clothing have been perhaps less marked; but even here an improvement has taken place. Canada now imports large quantities of foreign fruits, such as oranges, lemons, figs, bananas, and grapefruit, which were seldom seen in the Canada of 1867; and factory-made foods, such as canned goods and various breakfast cereals, ready for the table, have come also into widespread use. Ice-cream, now almost a national failing, was little known in 1867. In men's clothes, the chief changes have been in the direction of more comfortable styles and less sombre colours; but a great change has taken place in women's clothes. Long skirts, dragging in the dirt, have given way to skirts of shorter length; tightly-laced and rigid corsets, which tortured the human body, have been replaced by clothing which permits freedom of movement; and of recent years artificial silk has been available at a low cost to many to whom real silk was out of the question. Women's head-dressing, moreover, has changed; long hair, padded out with artificial and unsanitary puffs, switches, and ringlets, has given way generally to hair cut short.

*Work and
play*

In the day of the average man and woman, work now forms a lesser part, and play a greater part, than in 1867. Working conditions are greatly improved. Even on the farm, thanks to the aid of machinery, working hours are shorter; and in industry the eight-hour day is now the rule. This last has been due to the labour unions, all of which have come into existence since Confederation, and which have brought about an improvement, not only in working hours, but in the pay of workers, in their insurance against industrial accidents,

and in the sanitary conditions under which they work. There has been a great increase in the amount of leisure at the disposal of nearly all classes in the community; and this has made possible an amazing development of the instinct for play and amusement.

There were some outdoor games played in 1867, such as cricket in summer and curling in winter; but these were confined to small elements in the population, and most of the games played to-day were unknown. Lacrosse, borrowed from the Indians, had been introduced about 1860; but it was not widely played until after Confederation. Baseball, imported from the United States, was hardly known in Canada until after the close of the American Civil war, which took place in 1865. The first of the hundreds of golf clubs which now dot the map of Canada was established in Quebec only in 1873. Rugby football was first played in Canada about the same time. The rules of ice-hockey—a game, like lacrosse, purely Canadian—were formulated only in 1881. Lawn tennis, which was invented in England in 1875, was introduced into Canada only in the eighties; and badminton, though a game derived from the ancient battledore-and-shuttlecock, was not played in Canada until the twentieth century. In 1867 outdoor games, with the exception of the newly-introduced game of croquet, were played almost exclusively by school-boys and young men; but to-day they are played, not only by men of all ages, but by many women of all ages as well, and the amount of time devoted to them is vastly greater than it ever was before. Other amusements, unknown in 1867—such as going to the “movies”, motoring for pleasure, playing bridge or Mah-jong, and tuning-in on the radio—occupy now a great deal of people’s time;

but it may be questioned whether all of these mark an advance on the simpler pleasures of an earlier day.

Trade

Even trade has undergone a revolution. In 1867 credit was largely extended, so that merchants had to face the prospect of many bad debts; and goods were sold at varying prices over which the buyer and seller "haggled", just as they had done in the days of barter. It was just after Confederation that a young Irish merchant named Timothy Eaton conceived in Toronto the idea of selling at a fixed price and for cash only; and so successful was he that his drygoods shop developed into a great departmental store. Others—such as a Scottish-Canadian merchant named Robert Simpson, and later the Hudson's Bay Company—followed in his footsteps; and the departmental store became a feature of Canadian life. One result of this type of store has been the development of mail-order business. From the remotest parts of the country, it has become possible to order goods to be sent by parcel-post and at a catalogue price. A more recent development has been that of chain stores, which combine the advantages of wholesale buying with local convenience.

*The
position
of women*

A striking feature of the last sixty years has been the employment of women in business, and, indeed, the change in the status of women in general. In 1867 women were almost wholly excluded from business life. Domestic life was considered to be their sphere. The introduction of the typewriter brought about the employment of women as stenographers and secretaries; and of recent years many women have come to fill highly-paid and responsible positions in business. But this has been only one aspect of the change that has come over the position of women in society. Since 1867 they have won

the right of admission to the universities and to such professions as law and medicine; they have acquired, in all the provinces save Quebec, the right to vote; and they have even become eligible for election to parliament and for appointment to cabinet office and to the Senate.

In the sphere of health there has been a marvellous *Health* advance. Hospitals have existed in Canada since the French nuns established in Montreal the Hôpital Général; but in 1867 they were found only in the largest centres of population, and were, according to present-day ideas, most inadequate. There were no trained nurses in them, and even their sanitary conditions were sometimes deplorable. The magnificent hospitals of to-day, with their trained staffs, are a development of the past half-century. Medical science itself has made vast conquests. Antiseptics, antitoxins, and anaesthetics were unknown in 1867. The invention of the X-ray machine has made diagnosis infinitely easier. Appendicitis, a common ailment unrecognized in 1867, is now readily diagnosed and easily treated or operated for. Blood transfusion has been introduced, and has saved many lives, whereas in 1867 there were still physicians who believed in the remedy of blood-letting. Preventive measures have greatly reduced the mortality from contagious diseases, such as smallpox, and even from non-contagious diseases, such as typhoid fever. Diphtheria, once a veritable scourge, has been robbed by antitoxins of half its terror. Diabetes has been brought under control through the discovery of insulin in 1922 by Dr. F. G. Banting, a professor of the University of Toronto. Of all the ills that flesh is heir to, there is hardly one which medical science in the last sixty years has not

succeeded in curing or alleviating. In dentistry similar progress has been made. In 1867 the dentist was little more than an extractor of teeth; to-day the care of teeth has become a science.

Education

Education in Canada is under provincial control; and, consequently, there is a wide diversity between the educational situation in different provinces. But in all the provinces education has made great strides since 1867. It was in 1871 that the principle of free and compulsory education was adopted in Ontario, largely as the result of a long and persistent campaign waged by Egerton Ryerson, who had become superintendent of education in Upper Canada in 1844; and since that time the principle has been embodied in the legislation of most of the other provinces. The result has been that, whereas in 1867 over twenty per cent. of the population of Canada could not read or write, the percentage of illiteracy has now been reduced to less than five per cent., and this despite the fact that the last thirty years have seen the influx into Canada of vast numbers of foreign immigrants, many of them without the ability to read or write in their own tongues. Under these circumstances, it is amazing that illiteracy in Canada has been reduced rather than increased. In higher education a development of a somewhat different character has taken place. The number of universities and colleges has considerably increased, and the number of students in attendance at them has vastly increased; but the greatest change has been in the scope and methods of higher education. A multiplicity of subjects are now taught in the larger universities which were absent from the university curricula of 1867—subjects such as psychology, physiology, anthropology, forestry, engineering, agriculture, and the

science of education, to mention only a few. In the sciences, the laboratory method of instruction has largely replaced the lecture method formerly employed: the first physics laboratory in Canada, for instance, was established in the University of Toronto only in 1878. Post-graduate work was unheard of in Canadian universities in 1867; now it is an important and growing phase of the life of the larger universities.

Adult education is an idea of very recent development. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, most Canadian universities have embarked on what is called "extension work"—that is, carrying the facilities of the university, so far as is possible, to those who have been debarred from taking advantage of its facilities in youth. To school teachers, especially, this extension work has proved a great boon, and it has, through them, exerted a beneficial influence on primary education. *Adult education*

But the chief contribution to adult education has been made by the public libraries. Libraries have been in existence in Canada since the French régime; but the early libraries were either the property of religious bodies, of the Dominion or provincial legislatures, of legal or medical societies, or of groups of subscribers, and were not open to the public. It was only in 1895 that Ontario passed its first Public Libraries Act, though at that time public libraries had already been established in Toronto and two or three other places; and since that time a number of other provinces have followed Ontario's example. In the establishment of public libraries there is still much room for development; and it is a regrettable fact that Canada has as yet no national library. But in some of the provinces, at least, the development of free public libraries in recent years has been a powerful agency working for good.

Religion

Even in religion change has been busy. Many things which seemed important to many people in 1867 seem important to few people to-day. The result has been a tendency toward the union of Christian churches. In 1874 the various Wesleyan bodies in Canada united; and in 1883 they were joined by the Primitive Methodists and by the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1875 the various sects of Presbyterianism united to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Finally, in 1925, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, and the Congregationalists came together in the United Church of Canada—though the union was the occasion of widespread division among the Presbyterians. The tendency has been to emphasize less and less the doctrinal differences between the various branches of the Christian church, and to lay greater stress on the essential elements of the Christian religion. Sunday may not be observed to-day with the perhaps excessive strictness of our grandparents; but there has been in the last sixty years a real growth in the spirit of Christianity. Faith and hope may have dimmed; but charity, which is "the greatest of these", has grown brighter and brighter. Christ's commandment—to "love thy neighbour as thyself"—has been the inspiration of a mass of social legislation the like of which no previous era of the world's history has seen. Society has undertaken, as never before, to help those who cannot help themselves. Old age pensions and mothers' allowances have been established in nearly all the provinces; special classes have been formed for subnormal children; laws have been passed setting minimum wages for women and children; factory conditions have been subjected to government inspection; and employers have been obliged to insure employees against industrial accidents. District nurses

and other social service workers are now employed by many communities; playgrounds have been established for under-privileged children; charity has been organized on a scale hitherto unknown. Even the criminal is dealt with differently. His punishment in 1867 was intended to be merely deterrent; now it is intended to be reformatory. Whatever one may think of the condition of doctrinal Christianity, there can be no doubt that practical Christianity has made great progress in Canada since the Dominion came into being.

§ 3. LITERATURE AND ART

CONFEDERATION marked the beginning of a new era, not only in politics, but also in literature. There had been the stirrings of creative work in literature in the British North American provinces before 1867, but these were occasional and sporadic. One great name, it is true, belongs to this period, that of Thomas Chandler Haliburton (1796-1865). Haliburton, a judge in Nova Scotia, wrote *The Clockmaker, or the Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick of Slickville*, and a number of other humorous books which have earned for him the title of "the father of American humour". The fun has now faded from a great many of Sam Slick's sayings and doings; but Haliburton was to a large extent the spiritual ancestor of Mark Twain, Artemus Ward, Bill Nye, and a host of other exponents of "American humour", including the Canadian Stephen Leacock. In Upper Canada, at the same time, a noteworthy figure was Captain John Richardson (1796-1852), a veteran of the War of 1812, who wrote *Wacousta* and *The Canadian Brothers*—the first creditable attempts at Canadian fiction. Some excellent books were published descriptive of settlers'

Pre-Confederation literature

experiences in Upper Canada, notably those of the Strickland family. Colonel Samuel Strickland wrote *Twenty-seven Years in Canada West*; his sister, Mrs. Moodie, *Roughing It in the Bush*; and another sister, Mrs. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada* and *The Canadian Crusoes*. In Lower Canada, François-Xavier Garneau, stung to the quick by Lord Durham's remark that the French Canadians were "a people with no history and no literature" composed his famous history of Canada, the first considerable work in French-Canadian literature. In poetry, a beginning was made by Charles Heavyside (1816-1876), a Montreal journalist whose *Saul* ran into three editions; by Charles Sangster (1822-1893), who published two volumes of poems and lyrics; and by D'Arcy McGee and Joseph Howe, both of whom combined poetry with politics and oratory. But there was little in this pre-Confederation literature which the world would not willingly let die; and it was only after Confederation that a Canadian literature, in any real sense, arose.

Poetry

It is in poetry that the literary genius of the Canadian people has reached perhaps its highest expression. The years following Confederation saw grow to maturity in Canada a group of native-born poets who would have done credit to any young country. The pioneer of this group was Charles Mair (1840-1927), whose *Dreamland and Other Poems* was published in 1868. Mair was, as we have seen, one of the founders of the "Canada First" party; and many of his verses had a strong nationalist colour. His most famous work, a drama in blank verse entitled *Tecumseh*, derives its inspiration directly from Canadian history. The only other writer of the group who came under the influence of "Canada First" was

Charles G. D. Roberts (1860 —), some of whose earlier poems are among the finest and most patriotic in the anthology of Canadian verse. Later, however, Roberts, like many another Canadian writer, was lured to New York by the greater rewards of the larger market; and only in his later years has he returned to his native land.

*You've piped at home, where none could pay,
Till now, I trust, your wits are riper;
Make no delay, but come this way,
And pipe for them that pay the piper.*

Thus he excused his temporary desertion of Canadian soil.

Most of the group, however, found their chief inspiration in Canadian nature. Chief among the members of the Canadian school of nature poetry was Archibald Lampman (1861-1899). A disciple of Wordsworth, he preserved in his poetry a certain universal note; but the nature of which he sang was that of the Canadian countryside. His poetry is mostly descriptive and philosophical, for he did not wear his heart upon his sleeve; but on occasion he could rise to the highest lyrical note, as when the death of his infant son wrung from him the imperishable lines entitled *White Pansies*:

*The nature
poets*

*Pansies for my dear one—heartsease—
Set them gently so;
For his stainless lips and forehead
Pansies white as snow.*

Another outstanding figure among the poets of Canadian nature was Bliss Carman (1861-1929). Carman, like Roberts, spent much of his life in the United States; but Canada never ceased to be his inspiration. To a degree surpassed by few, if any, poets, his verse has the

singing or lyrical quality. His *Low Tide on Grand Pré* is worthy of a place in any anthology; and some of his lines have a haunting music seldom heard, such as:

*The scarlet of the maples can shake me like a cry
Of bugles going by,
And my lonely spirit thrills
To see the frosty asters on the hills.*

Other members of this school have been Isabella Valancy Crawford (1850-1887), William Wilfred Campbell (1861-1915), Duncan Campbell Scott (1862 —), Frederick George Scott (1861 —), and Pauline Johnson (1862-1913), the latter a poetess of Indian blood.

Later poets In more recent years the Canadian muse has struck more varied chords. Dr. W. H. Drummond (1854-1907) chose the narrow medium of dialect verse to give to the life of French Canada an expression which was universal in its appeal. His *Habitant* and his *Voyageur* are merely Everyman in a French-Canadian setting. Robert W. Service (1876 —) has sung of the life of the Yukon and the North-West in a style reminiscent of the best work of Rudyard Kipling. Dr. John McCrae (1872-1918) wrote, while on active service, the most notable poem produced by the Great War, *In Flanders' Fields*:

*Take up our quarrel with the foe.
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch: be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders' fields.*

But the high-water mark in Canadian poetry was perhaps reached by Marjorie Pickthall (1883-1922). There is in her verses a magical quality found only in the work of the great masters, such as Keats; and there are few more convincing illustrations of the quality of her work

than the lines which she wrote on receiving a violet leaf from the grave of Keats:

*After the sharp, salt kiss,
Blossom and thorn of grief,
Time has no more than this—
A leaf.*

*Out of the battled years,
The glory and the wrong,
Time gives, for all our tears,
A song.*

*Is it of fragrance made,
Woven and rhymed with light,
The voice that from some shade
Silvers the night?*

*When the last shadows slope,
And day's own rose is pale—
O love, immortal hope—
His nightingale.*

French-Canadian poetry has achieved since Confederation success as great as English Canadian. Joseph Octave Crémazie (1827-1879)—“the father of French-Canadian poetry”—wrote his verse before he left Canada in 1862, but it was not until after his death that his collected work was issued to the public in book form. The most outstanding poet of French Canada, Louis Fréchette (1839-1908), published his first volume in 1863, but his chief work, much of which was crowned by the French Academy, was done after Confederation. A genius of extraordinary quality was quenched when Emile Nelligan (1882—), at the early age of nineteen years, became an inmate of an insane asylum. A strong nationalistic note is to be found in much French-Canadian poetry; and the song, *O Canada*, by Sir Adolphe Routhier (1839-1920), bids fair to become the national

*French-
Canadian
poetry*

anthem, while Sir George Cartier's *O Canada! Mon pays, mes amours* attained earlier a wide popularity. The ancient folk-songs of French Canada have been revived of late years, and they have contributed an element of colour and distinction to French-Canadian literature.

Fiction

In fiction Canada has produced no great names; but many of her novelists and story-writers have gained an international reputation. It was in the field of historical fiction that Canadians first won renown. Ten years after Confederation, William Kirby (1817-1906) published *The Golden Dog*, a romance of the last days of the French régime in Canada; and a quarter of a century after Confederation Sir Gilbert Parker, a native of Canada who has since had a distinguished career in England, wrote his most famous book, *The Seats of the Mighty*, a story of the conquest of Canada. But it has been in the field of animal stories that Canada has made perhaps its most distinctive contribution to imaginative prose literature. Ever since Æsop wrote his *Fables*, there have been animal stories in which the animals were anthropomorphized, and spoke and acted like human beings; but it remained for two Canadians, Ernest Thompson-Seton (1860—) and Charles G. D. Roberts (1860—), to invent a type of story in which animals acted like animals, and did not speak at all. Thompson-Seton wrote *Wild Animals I have Known*, *Lives of the Hunted*, and a number of similar books; and Roberts wrote *The Heart of the Ancient Wood*, *The Kindred of the Wild*, and *The Watchers of the Trails*—stories which created a new type in fiction. Then there arose what may be called the "Kailyard School of Canadian fiction". The Rev. C. W. Gordon ("Ralph

Connor") achieved a great success with his *Black Rock*, *The Sky Pilot*, and *The Man from Glengarry*—books which, despite their obviously didactic purpose, had much to commend them. Mrs. Ewan Macdonald, who writes under her maiden name of L. M. Montgomery, has endeared herself to many readers with her *Anne of Green Gables*—described by Mark Twain as "the sweetest creation of child life yet written"—and the subsequent series of books tracing the career of Anne and her daughters. Marshall Saunders has written a children's classic in *Beautiful Joe*. More recently, distinction has been won by a group of writers with more realistic aims. Martha Ostenso, with her *Wild Geese*, and Mazo de la Roche, with her *Jalna*, have captured the public ear; and Frederick Philip Grove, in his *Our Daily Bread*, has written a novel which reveals a master's hand. But perhaps the greatest success of all has been achieved by Stephen Leacock (1869—), in the field of humorous fiction. Leacock's *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* is a picture of a small town in Ontario; but its appeal is so universal that it might well be a description of a small town anywhere. In this and others of Leacock's books the tradition of Canadian humour established by *Sam Slick* has been nobly maintained.

In French-Canadian fiction, success has been less marked. Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916) published, on the eve of Confederation, a notable historical novel entitled *Jacques et Marie*: and Antoine Gérin-Lajoie (1824-1882) contributed to Canadian literature a genuine work of art in his *Jean Rivard*, a picture of the life of a pioneer in the Eastern Townships. Joseph Marmette (1844-1895) wrote a number of noteworthy historical novels; and Félicité Angers (1845-1924), the pioneer

French-
Canadian
fiction

among women writers in Quebec, published a number of interesting novels under the pen-name of "Laure Conan". But none of these writers reached the level of Louis Hémon (1880-1913), a young Frenchman who came to Canada and wrote *Maria Chapdelaine*, a story of life in northern Ontario which has been translated into English both by W. H. Blake and by Sir Andrew Macphail.

*Historical
studies*

Historical studies in Canada have always been vigorous. Francis Parkman (1823-1893), who first told in classic style the story of New France, was not a Canadian; but his example has exerted a profound influence on Canadian historians. William Canniff (1830-1910), who wrote *A History of the Early Settlement of Upper Canada*, and William Kingsford (1819-1898), who compiled a ten-volume *History of Canada*, lacked literary charm; but more recent writers have paid more attention to the graces of style. William Wood, in his *The Fight for Canada*, and George M. Wrong, in his *Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs* and *The Rise and Fall of New France*, have rivalled Parkman in his own field; Agnes Laut, in her *Conquest of the Great North-West*, and L. J. Burpee, in his *Search for the Western Sea*, have told the epic of fur trade and exploration in the west; and Sir John Willison achieved, in his *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party*, a political biography of real distinction. The series of little books edited by George M. Wrong and H. H. Langton under the general title, *Chronicles of Canada*, contain many volumes which combine scholarship with literary attractiveness; and the co-operative history of Canada edited by Adam Shortt and A. G. Doughty, under the title *Canada and Its Provinces*, maintains a level of excellence reached in few similar works. In an estimate of the work of Canadian his-

torians, due credit must be given to the work of the Public Archives of Canada, first under Douglas Brymner, and latterly under A. G. Doughty, as well as to the various provincial archives branches, in making available to Canadians a wealth of material regarding the history of their country.

French-Canadian historians have tended to specialize in local history and in genealogy, in which their researches have been most exhaustive; but they, too, have produced work of literary distinction. The Abbé H. R. Casgrain (1831-1904) was the author of a large number of admirable historical essays, chief among which was his *Montcalm et Lévis*; and Benjamin Sulte (1841-1923) wrote a valuable history of the French-Canadian people, as well as a vast number of historical papers of all sorts. In more recent years Senator Thomas Chapais has published an admirable life of the Intendant Talon; and the Abbé Lionel Groulx has written a series of brilliant studies in Canadian history, the only fault of which is their racial bias.

It is in painting, however, rather than in letters, that Canadians have struck the most distinctive note. Many of the earlier Canadian artists—such as Otto Jacobi, Cornelius Kreighoff, George Theodore Berthon, Daniel Fowler, and Robert Harris, the painter of “The Fathers of Confederation”—were born in Germany, or France, or England, and were trained under old world influences. Even among native-born Canadian artists there have been not a few—such as Blair Bruce, Wyatt Eaton, Paul Peel, and James Wilson Morrice—who have been trained abroad, and have done much of their best work in foreign countries. But there have been since Confederation an increasing number who have drawn their inspiration

from their native soil. Horatio Walker and Homer Watson have made themselves the exponents of Canadian rural life, the first in Quebec, the second in Ontario; and Lucius O'Brien, the first president of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, was especially noted for his Rocky Mountain landscapes. Just before the outbreak of the Great War, Tom Thomson, a self-taught genius, began to paint landscapes of the north country in which he earned a livelihood as fire ranger and guide; and though he was drowned in 1917 after only five years of most significant work, he blazed the trail for a school of painters who have followed his lead. In particular, the so-called "Group of Seven"—Lawren Harris, A. Y. Jackson, J. E. H. MacDonald, Arthur Lismer, Frank Johnston, Frank Carmichael, and F. H. Varley—owes a great deal to Tom Thomson's influence. This group tends at times to the crude and the bizarre; but at its best its work is instinct with the feeling for Canada's "great open spaces", from which it derives indeed its inspiration. "The message that the Group of Seven art movement gives to this age", writes the historian of the movement, "is the message that here in the North has arisen a young nation with faith in its own creative genius."

Consult L. Pierce, *An Outline of Canadian Literature* (Toronto, 1927); A. MacMechan, *Headwaters of Canadian Literature* (Toronto, 1924); and J. D. Logan and D. French, *Highways of Canadian Literature* (Toronto, 1924). The best history of Canadian art is N. MacTavish, *The Fine Arts in Canada* (Toronto, 1925).

PART V: THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

Man is by nature a political animal.

—ARISTOTLE, *Politics*, I, 2

1. GENERAL FEATURES

IT IS often said that the British North America Act, ^{The B.N.A. Act} 1867, is the constitution of the Dominion of Canada. This, however, is not an accurate statement of the facts. It is true that the British North America Act, as passed



THE DOMINION OF CANADA TO-DAY

by the British parliament in 1867, is the legal basis or nucleus of the Canadian constitution; but it is nothing more than this. In the first place, it has been repeatedly amended since 1867; and in the second place, even if it had not been amended, it would still be only a part of the constitutional law of the Dominion. The constitutions of some of the provinces of Canada, such as Nova

Scotia and New Brunswick, long antedate the British North America Act; and in the province of Quebec there are still in force some of the provisions of the Quebec Act of 1774, such as those authorizing the old French civil law (which is to this day the basis of the *code civile* of Quebec) and the legal enforcement of the payment of the tithe by Roman Catholics.

*The custom
of the con-
stitution*

The British North America Act, moreover, deals only with the law of the constitution, and does not touch what is called the custom of the constitution. In almost all constitutions, even the most elaborate, there are not only legal, but also customary, elements; and the custom of the constitution is sometimes more powerful than the law. Occasionally, indeed, it overrides and nullifies the law. In order to realize how powerful custom is, as distinct from law, one needs only to remember that many a man who thinks nothing of breaking the laws regulating the speed of motor cars will think twice before defying custom by appearing on the street without a collar or a neck-tie. In the constitution of Canada custom plays a very large part. It is an extraordinary fact that in the British North America Act there is no mention of that bundle of customs which we describe as "responsible government"; there is not a word about that important feature of government in both the Dominion and the provinces known as the "cabinet"; nor is there any mention of such a person as the "prime minister". Indeed, there are clauses of the Act—such as those referring to the powers of the king's representative in Canada—which are positively misleading; and this it is which makes it so difficult for strangers to understand Canadian institutions. There are also provisions in the British North America Act which custom, within the short space

of little more than half a century, has rendered obsolete—such as the power of disallowance expressly given in the Act to the British government over Dominion legislation, and to the Dominion government over provincial legislation.

It will be clear that a constitution which is thus embodied, not only in a number of Acts of parliament beside the fundamental Act of 1867, but also in a number of customs which go far back in the history of the British people, is a somewhat complex business, not to be comprehended at a single glance. But there are certain outstanding features of it which are easily grasped.

*Outstanding
features of
Canadian
government*

(1) The government of Canada is vested in King George VI. This does not mean that King George exercises any actual power or authority in Canada, for—as we have seen—Canada long ago achieved self-government. It merely means that the government of Canada, as well as of other parts of the British Empire, is carried on in the king's name; and the king of Great Britain has thus become a symbol of imperial unity. The Union Jack is the flag of Canada, as well as of the rest of the Empire; all Canadians must take the oath of allegiance to King George; and the mail-service in Canada is still "His Majesty's Mail". There is reserved for Canadians the possibility of appeal to the foot of the throne—that is to say, there is an appeal from the Canadian courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at Westminster; and the representative of the king in Canada is still a distinguished Englishman appointed by the king, on the advice of his British ministers. There are those who have advocated the abolition of the appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the appointment of a Canadian as the representative of the king in

*The
imperial tie*

Canada; but hitherto these links with the mother country have remained intact. The British North America Act can only be amended by the king in parliament at Westminster; and to this day the debates in the Canadian parliament at Ottawa are conducted, in general, according to the rules that prevail in the Mother of Parliaments. In many ways, by ties of law as well as of sentiment, Canada is bound to the mother country and the British throne; and its constitution is essentially based on British principles and precedents.

*The
federal
principle*

(2) In one respect, however, the government of Canada is like that of the United States, rather than Great Britain. It is a *federal* government. That is to say, there is one set of governmental machinery to deal with those questions which concern the whole Dominion, and another set of governmental machinery in each province to deal with questions of provincial or local concern. Such matters as the regulation of trade and commerce, the postal system, the railways, military and naval defence, currency and coinage, marriage and divorce, and criminal law, are placed under the Dominion parliament and government; whereas the crown lands, municipal institutions, the schools, and property and civil rights within the province, come under provincial control. The sections of the British North America Act (sections 91-93) which attempted to define the line between matters assigned, respectively, to the Dominion and the provinces were not very clearly drawn. It is not easy to distinguish, for instance, between "the regulation of trade and commerce" and "property and civil rights within the province", or between "marriage and divorce" and "the solemnization of marriage in the province". It is only as the result of a long series of

lawsuits that the respective jurisdictions of the Dominion and the provinces have been defined; and there still occur questions in regard to which there is doubt. It would appear that the intention of the Fathers of Confederation was to make the Dominion parliament paramount, since they gave to the Dominion government the power of disallowing provincial legislation; but the advocates of "provincial rights"—particularly Sir Oliver Mowat, who was for a quarter of a century prime minister of Ontario—won a series of notable victories before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at Westminster, which made the provinces as supreme within their sphere as the Dominion was within its sphere.

The federal character of Canadian government has naturally some defects and drawbacks. It has made necessary an abnormal amount of litigation, and it has caused endless uncertainty and embarrassment in dealing with such questions as the regulation and control of the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors—manufacture coming under the Dominion, and sale under the provinces. It has made impossible, also, the establishment of a uniform standard of education throughout the Dominion, since education is a purely provincial matter. But in a country with such a vast territory as Canada, and with peoples so diverse in language and religion, it has enabled the various provinces to meet their local problems more easily and more intelligently than if the country had been governed from one centre. The advantages of a federal union in Canada have never been better described than by Sir Lomer Gouin, when as prime minister of Quebec he said, in answer to a proposal that Quebec should withdraw from Confederation:

*Defects and
advantages
of
federation*

I believe in the Canadian Confederation. Federal government appears to me to be the only possible one in Canada,

because of our differences in race and creed, and also because of the variety and multiplicity of local needs in our immense territory.

Having described the chief general characteristics of the Canadian constitution, it now remains for us to examine the government of Canada in detail in the Dominion, provincial, and municipal spheres.

§ 2. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DOMINION

*Functions
of
government*

ALL government, like Gaul, is divided into three parts. There must be a legislature (which makes the laws), an executive (which puts the laws into effect), and a judiciary (which interprets the laws). We shall, in describing the government of the Dominion of Canada, consider it under these three heads.

*The
Dominion
legislature*

The legislature of the Dominion is composed of the governor-general and two houses of parliament—the House of Commons and the Senate. The governor-general is the representative of the king, and is appointed by the British government (usually now with the concurrence of the Canadian government) for a period of about five years. Like the king, his part in legislation is confined to opening and closing the sessions of parliament, and giving assent to the bills which the two Houses have passed. He has, it is true, under the British North America Act, the right of reserving bills for the approval of the British government, but this is a right which he now rarely, if ever, exercises. As a rule, the part he plays in legislation is purely formal.

*The House
of Commons*

The chief work in legislation is performed by the House of Commons. This, which is commonly described as the lower house of the legislature, is composed of the elected

representatives of the people. Every five years (or oftener, if necessary), there is a general election throughout Canada, and the people choose members of parliament to represent them in the House of Commons. There are always sixty-five members from the province of Quebec; and the number of members elected from the other provinces is in direct proportion to the ratio which their population bears to that of Quebec—except that there are never fewer than four members from the little province of Prince Edward Island. It may be said, therefore, that the members of the House of Commons are elected, in the main, on the basis of "representation by population". Their deliberations are presided over by a chairman, chosen by themselves, and known as the Speaker, from the fact that he *speaks* in the name of the whole House. All bills involving the expenditure of public money (and there are not very many public bills which do not do this) must be introduced first in the House of Commons; and, consequently, most of the ministers of the Crown find it convenient to sit in this House, since they have to oversee the expenditure of public money. It rests with the House of Commons, since it holds in its hands the power of the purse, to say whether the governor-general shall change his ministers, or advisers; and a vote of want of confidence in the Commons is always sufficient to bring about the resignation of a ministry. If the ministers of the Crown did not resign, under such circumstances, the Commons would always be able to refuse to vote supplies for carrying on the government. It is not possible to describe here in detail the rules which govern in the House of Commons the procedure in debate and in the passage of bills. A large volume would be required to describe fully Canadian parliamentary procedure. But in general the

procedure adopted is the same as that which prevails at Westminster.

The Senate The Senate, or upper house of the legislature, is a body of a very different sort. Its members are not elected, but are appointed by the government of the day for life—or as long as they perform their duties. Twenty-four of them must be chosen from Quebec, twenty-four from Ontario, twenty-four from the Maritime provinces, and twenty-four from the Western provinces. They must be thirty years of age, and must be property holders of substance in the provinces which they represent. The Senate thus embodies, to some extent, both the federal principle and conservative interests, and is intended to act as a check on the popular branch of the legislature. Actually, however, it has not always fulfilled the purpose for which it was created. Sir John Macdonald, during his long tenure of power, appointed to it only one Liberal, a gentleman who rejoiced also in the name of John Macdonald; and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, during his long period of office, appointed to the Senate not one Conservative. The result has been that, at certain periods, the Senate has become merely "an asylum for superannuated partisans", while at other periods (notably after a change of government) it has become a means whereby the opposition in the House of Commons has been able to block the legislation passed by the House of Commons. Many proposals have been advanced for its abolition or reform. But, on the whole, it is probable that the Senate, for all its defects, has justified itself. Composed for the most part of veteran legislators, it has always done admirable service as a revising chamber; and it is extraordinary how often, when it has opposed the will of the House of Commons, it has correctly interpreted the will of the people of Canada.

In order to become law, it is necessary that a bill should not only pass three readings in the House of Commons, where sit the elected representatives of the people, but that it should also pass three readings in the Senate, where sit legislators appointed for life, and that it must receive also the assent of the representative of the Crown in Great Britain. Nothing could be a better guarantee of the sound and well-considered character of the legislation placed upon the statute books of Canada.

*The
making
of laws*

The executive government of the Dominion is vested in the king, or rather in his representative—the governor-general. The governor-general, however, almost never acts on his own initiative. It is made clear in the British North America Act that he must act only on the advice of a council styled “the King’s Privy Council for Canada”. The extraordinary fact is that this council has never met, and would be found, if it did meet, to be composed of members of the most diverse political opinions. What happens is that the governor-general acts on the advice of the “cabinet”, a group of members of the Privy Council for Canada who command for the time being the confidence of the House of Commons. At the head of the cabinet is “the prime minister”, who chooses his colleagues, and whose resignation carries with it their resignations. Most of the members of the cabinet are placed at the head of the great administrative departments of the government; one will be minister of finance, another minister of national defence, a third minister of railways and canals, and so forth. As a rule, the cabinet contains also two or three members who do not administer departments of the government: these are called “ministers without portfolio”. At the same time, every cabinet minister, whether he has a department or not, must sit in the

*Executive
government*

legislature, preferably in the House of Commons, or else he must find a seat for himself within a reasonable space of time. This arrangement, whereby members of the cabinet serve at the same time as heads of administrative departments and as members of parliament, has great advantages. It means, on the one hand, that the executive government is able to guide the course of legislation and especially to control the voting of public money; whereas, on the other hand, it means that the legislature is able to compel ministers to defend from day to day every act of the executive government, and if necessary, to compel the resignation of ministers, either individually or collectively. The cabinet is thus "a sort of hyphen or buckle" between the legislature and the executive, and indeed may be said to dominate both.¹

*The civil
service*

Most of the actual administration of the affairs of the Dominion is in the hands of the civil service. In each department there is a deputy minister, and under him a large number of officials who hold office during good behaviour, no matter what government is in power. These permanent officers of government give continuity to the administration, and frequently they exert a powerful influence on the ministers, and through them on the

¹The members of the Dominion cabinet at present (1930) are as follows: (1) The prime minister, who is also president of the Privy Council and secretary of state for external affairs; (2) the minister of justice; (3) the minister of finance; (4) the minister of the interior, who is also minister of mines and superintendent-general of Indian affairs; (5) the minister of agriculture; (6) the minister of soldiers' civil re-establishment, who is also in charge of the department of health; (7) the minister of marine and fisheries; (8) the minister of railways and canals; (9) the minister of public works; (10) the minister of national defence; (11) the postmaster-general; (12) the minister of customs and excise; (13) the secretary of state; (14) the minister of trade and commerce; (15) the minister of immigration and colonization; (16) the minister of labour; and (17) one minister without portfolio.

cabinet. Of recent years, moreover, there has been a growing tendency on the part of parliament to take certain matters out of politics entirely, and to place them under the control of more or less independent commissioners. The civil service has been placed under a Civil Service Commission; important powers in regard to railways, telephone and telegraph systems, and express companies have been vested in the Board of Railway Commissioners; the National Gallery at Ottawa has been placed under a board of trustees, who enjoy the powers of a Dominion government commission; the beautifying of the national capital has been placed in the hands of the Ottawa Improvement Commission; and an important aspect of Canada's external relations has been confided to the Canadian members of the International Joint Commission. These commissions supplement the work of the civil service.

The third element in the government of the Dominion, ^{*The*} the judiciary, may be more briefly described. Since 1875 ^{*judiciary*} Canada has had at Ottawa a Supreme Court, which—except in those cases where leave is granted to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at Westminster—acts as a final court of appeal for the Dominion. The provincial courts come, so far as their constitution is concerned, under the jurisdiction of the provinces; but the judges of the higher courts are appointed by the Dominion government, and the procedure in criminal law is regulated by the Dominion parliament. Judges may be removed from the bench only on the passage of an address by both houses of parliament; and it is to the great credit of the Canadian bench that it has been found necessary only on two or three occasions to have resort to this expedient. Though the judges are appointed by

the government of the day, they have been remarkably free from any political bias; and Canada has thus been fortunate in having an administration of justice that has been pure and impartial, preserving the best traditions of the judiciary in the mother country.

§ 3. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES

*The
provincial
constitution*

THE constitutions of the nine provinces of Canada have had a most diverse origin. Four of them antedate the British North America Act of 1867. The constitution of Nova Scotia goes back to the year before Wolfe captured Quebec, when representative institutions were first set up in the province; that of Prince Edward Island to the establishment of an assembly in 1773; that of New Brunswick to the creation of the province, with a constitution of the old colonial type, in 1784; and that of British Columbia to the union of the crown colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island in a self-governing colony in 1866. Ontario and Quebec, through the resuscitation under different names of the old provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, were actually created by the British North America Act; and Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta have been carved by Act of the Dominion parliament out of the North-West Territories.

*The
lieutenant-
governor*

In the government of these various provinces there are differences, partly due to the difference in origin, and partly to the fact that, under the British North America Act, each province has, unlike the Dominion, the power of altering its own constitution, except in regard to the office of lieutenant-governor. The lieutenant-governor in each province is, like the governor-general, the representative of the Crown. He is, however, unlike the governor-general, not appointed by the British

government, but is appointed for a term of five years by the Dominion government, to which he is responsible, and by which he may be removed. Since he is an officer of the Dominion government, as well as the representative of the Crown, it is natural that his office may not be abolished by action of the provincial legislature.

The legislative machinery of the provinces has had a tangled history. When the Dominion of Canada came into existence in 1867, three out of the four original provinces had two-chamber legislatures. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec all had, not only an elective Legislative Assembly, but also a nominated upper house, known as the Legislative Council. Only Ontario contented itself with a single chamber—a Legislative Assembly. Since 1867, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia have in succession abolished their second chambers; British Columbia came into union with only a single chamber; and Alberta and Saskatchewan were created as single-chamber provinces. The result is that, with the solitary exception of Quebec, which still retains its Legislative Council, all the provinces of the Dominion have followed Ontario's example. Whether the tendency to dispense with second chambers in the provinces of Canada has had fortunate results, is an interesting question. There is undoubtedly an economy in getting along with one chamber instead of two, and a nominated upper house sometimes thwarts the will of the people; but, on the other hand, it is sometimes an advantage to have a second chamber to which may be appointed those who have served the province well in the past. Their wisdom and experience may often act as a salutary check on the ill-considered legislation of the popular chamber. The matters with which the provincial legislatures deal are

no less important—and indeed, from some points of view, are more important—than those with which the Dominion legislature deals.

*The
Legislative
Assembly*

The Legislative Assemblies of the provinces conduct business, in general, under the same rules as the Canadian House of Commons. They elect a Speaker, who presides over their deliberations; and the bills they pass must be read three times, in the same way as bills in the House of Commons both at Ottawa and at Westminster. The Legislative Assemblies of the provinces are thus true parliaments of the British type.

*Executive
government
in the
provinces*

The executive government of the provinces is in the hands of the lieutenant-governor, as the representative of the Crown. But the lieutenant-governor, like the governor-general, takes no action except on the advice of his constitutional advisers. These are known as his executive council; and there is no reason in law why this body may not be composed of any one whom he may choose to appoint. Actually, however, the members of the executive council are a cabinet of the same type as the cabinet at Ottawa or as the cabinet at Westminster. They are headed by a prime minister or "premier"; they sit in the Legislative Assembly, where they have to guide the course of legislation and defend their administration of the government; and they preside as a rule over the various departments of the government, such as the departments of education, or crown lands, or finance.¹ The only important difference between them

¹The members of the Executive Council of Ontario at present (1930) are as follows: (1) the prime minister, who is also president of the council, and minister of education; (2) the minister of public works and highways; (3) the attorney-general; (4) the provincial treasurer; (5) the provincial secretary; (6) the minister of mines; (7) the minister of labour and health; (8) the minister of agriculture; (9) the minister of lands and forests; and (10) one minister without portfolio.

and cabinet ministers of the Dominion is that while the latter, having been sworn in as privy councillors for Canada, are entitled to be styled "Honourable" for life, the provincial cabinet ministers retain the title "Honourable" only during their tenure of office. In other respects they perform functions exactly parallel to those of cabinet ministers at Ottawa or at Westminster. In the provinces, as in the Dominion, the actual details of administration are in the hands of the civil service. In each department there is a permanent and non-political deputy minister, under the political head of the department, as well as a host of officials and clerks.

*The civil
service in
the
provinces*

The judicial machinery of the provinces is administered, subject to the laws passed in the provincial legislature, by a member of the cabinet known as the attorney-general. The organization of the higher courts of the province is regulated by provincial legislation; and the judges in these courts are appointed by the Dominion government, as we have seen, and are removable only by the Dominion parliament. But the police magistrates and justices of the peace are appointed by the provincial government, and are removable by it. The province may set up any courts of first instance it likes, such as women's courts, children's courts, domestic relations courts, and traffic courts; but an appeal may as a rule be taken from these courts to those higher courts which come more especially under the oversight of the Dominion government. There is thus a guarantee that justice in the various provinces shall be fairly uniform in its character.

*Judicial
machinery
in the
provinces*

§ 4. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

THERE are many matters of purely local concern with which not even the provincial governments and legisla-

*Municipal
sub-
divisions*

tures attempt to deal directly, such as the upkeep of roads and streets, the supply of water, and the disposal of garbage. For the purpose of dealing with such matters, each province is divided into counties, and the counties are divided into municipalities—that is, townships, villages, towns, or cities. Some cities spread from one county into another; and all cities, and a few towns, have governments separate from and independent of the government of the county. But most towns and all villages and townships are governed as part of the county.

*Local
government
in Ontario*

Local or municipal government is regulated by Act of the provincial legislature. It is, therefore, different in detail in the nine provinces of Canada. The municipal government of Ontario may, however, be taken as typical. The settled parts of Ontario are divided into forty-four counties, as well as eleven "districts". In each of these there is a county town, where the county court-house is situated. The counties and districts are again subdivided into townships; but within these may be found police villages, villages, towns, and cities. As soon as a population of 750 persons is found within an area of 500 acres, it may be incorporated as a *village*, with certain powers of self-government; and even if a smaller population is gathered in one centre, it may be organized as a *police village*, with less extensive powers of self-government. As soon as a village attains a population of 2,000 persons, it may be erected into a *town*, with larger powers; and when a town reaches a population of 15,000, it may be incorporated as a *city*, with still more extensive powers.

*The
government
of the muni-
cipality*

Every municipality is governed by a council elected annually. In the township or village, this council consists of a reeve and four councillors; and nothing

could better illustrate the antiquity of British self-governing institutions than the fact that these are identical with "the reeve and four good men" who administered the affairs of village communities in Anglo-Saxon England. As soon as a village attains a population of 1,000 voters, it becomes entitled to a *deputy-reeve* in place of one of the four councillors; and a deputy-reeve takes the place of a councillor for every additional 1,000 voters. The county council is composed of the reeves and deputy-reeves of all the townships, villages, and smaller towns within the county; and it chooses its own presiding officer, who is known as the *warden* of the county. In the larger towns and in the cities a different organization is found. Here the head of the municipal government is known, not as reeve, but as *mayor*, and is elected annually by all the voters. But the councillors are elected by *wards*, or subdivisions of the municipality, generally two or three from each ward; and in the cities the councillors are known as *aldermen*—another term which goes back to Anglo-Saxon times. In some of the largest cities, such as Toronto and Hamilton, there has been set up also a *Board of Control*, composed of the mayor and four controllers elected annually by the voters at large; and this board has oversight of the expenditure of money. No public money may be voted, at least, without its consent, unless the council overrides it by a two-thirds majority.

These councils enjoy both legislative and executive powers. They pass the by-laws regulating the affairs of the municipality; they levy the necessary taxation; they vote the expenditure of money; and they appoint the various permanent officials of the municipality, such as pound keepers, city engineers, assessors, police, and

*Powers
of the
municipal
councils*

firemen. One important matter, however, is largely removed from their jurisdiction, namely education. The County Councils have power to make school grants and appoint county school inspectors;¹ but, in the municipality, on which falls the main cost of the schools, the control of the schools is vested, not in the council, but in a board of school trustees. Every township is divided into school sections; and in each section there are elected annually three trustees, who appoint and dismiss the teachers, fix their salaries, and are responsible for the upkeep of the schools. In towns and cities a *Board of Trustees* is elected, composed of two trustees from each ward; and in some cases all the schools in a municipality are placed under a *Board of Education* elected in the same manner as the council. The council provides the necessary funds for education; but the Board of Education has control of their expenditure.

*Justice in
the municipi-
palities*

In much the same way, the administration of justice in the municipalities is generally removed from the control of the council. Every mayor of a town or city is a magistrate, or justice of the peace, and may try minor breaches of the law; but in most cases this power is delegated to police magistrates who, though paid by the municipality, are appointed by the provincial government. Where juvenile courts and women's courts have been set up, the magistrates presiding over these are likewise appointed by the province. In the counties the high constable is appointed by the county council; but in the larger cities even the chief of police is frequently under a Board of Police Commissioners, composed of the mayor, the senior judge of the county court, and the police magistrate.

¹Since July 1, 1930, the appointment of these inspectors has been made directly by the Minister of Education.

The government of municipalities, as well as of the Dominion and the provinces, is a very large subject, and can only be described in outline here. The Municipal Act of the legislature of Ontario covers over two hundred and fifty pages, and is followed by over seven hundred pages also dealing with municipal matters. Whole books have been written about it, just as whole books have been written about Dominion and provincial government. But perhaps the sketch which has been attempted here will be sufficient to give some idea of how Canada is governed.

*The details
of
municipal
government*

§ 5. THE DUTY OF CANADIANS TO CANADA

A GREAT English poet once wrote:

*Forms of
government*

*For forms of government let fools contest.
Whate'er is best administered is best.*

There is in these lines a great deal of political wisdom. We have described the government of Canada in its chief aspects; and we have seen that it is a form of government which has great advantages. It combines the advantages of monarchy with those of democracy, and the advantages of central government with those of local government. But no system of government, however excellent, will produce the best results unless it is well administered.

It is the duty of every Canadian, therefore, to do what lies in his power to see that the government of Canada is administered in the best possible way. It is not necessary that he should become a member of his municipal council or of the provincial or Dominion legislatures, though all of these are laudable objects of ambition; but it is essential that he should take an intelligent and active interest in the affairs of his municipality, and of

*The duty of
the good
Canadian*

his province, and of the Dominion. He should keep himself well informed on public affairs; he should regard it as almost a religious duty to register his vote in each election, whether local, provincial, or federal; and he should, if he is able to find time, help to elect the representative who will contribute most to see that his country is well governed. Only in proportion as the people of Canada take an active interest in the government of the country, will the machinery of government function properly.

*Within
Canada*

There are many ways in which this interest may be shown, besides standing for office or voting in elections. In every community there are many organizations which have public welfare as their object. There are guilds of civic art, which aim at beautifying the cities or towns in which we live; there are benevolent societies, such as the Sons of England or the St. Andrew's Society; there are Rotary Clubs and United Farmers' Clubs, which aim at social improvement; there are political clubs, such as Young Men's Conservative and Liberal Clubs, which exist for the discussion of public affairs. It is open to every one to link himself or herself with any of a hundred and one organizations of this sort, and thus help to make life better for others as well as for himself. No man can live for himself alone, and be truly happy.

*Outside
Canada*

But the duty of Canadians to Canada does not end with Canada itself. Canada is, as we have seen, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and of that wider commonwealth of man, the League of Nations. Her representatives must meet with representatives of the other parts of the British Empire in the periodical Imperial Conferences; and they must play their part with the representatives of most of the nations of the world in the Assembly and Council of the League

of Nations at Geneva. If they are to make wise decisions, they must have behind them in Canada a wise and enlightened public opinion with regard to both imperial and world affairs.

It is the glory of the study of history that it enables one to understand better the affairs of the present day; and this must be the chief justification for the study of this book.

*History, with all her volumes vast,
Hath but one page.*

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